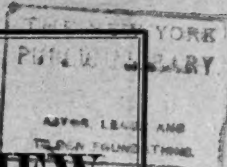


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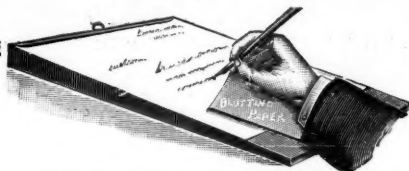
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*Index to Charities subjoined to the Appeal:—*

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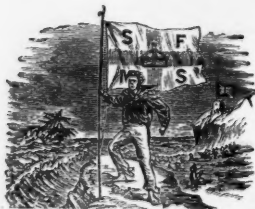
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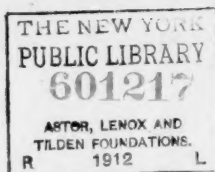
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To the Abbé de Mably is attributed the first suggestion that enemy's merchant ships and cargoes should be exempted from capture and confiscation. It was made in a work entitled, 'Le droit public de l'Europe fondé sur les traités,' originally published in 1746, and frequently reprinted. It is worth while, therefore, to scrutinise his language on this subject, and to ascertain what he really did propose. First of all, he asks why two nations who have declared war against each other should prohibit all mutual commerce, a usage which he qualifies as a survival of barbarism. The interdiction of commerce is for the purpose of injuring the enemy; but this is unwise if by this proceeding we do equal harm to ourselves. It is, however, impossible to remedy

this abuse, so vexatious to merchants, of which the consequences are felt by all classes of citizens, until another usage still more pernicious has been prohibited, namely, the piratical acts committed against merchant ships from the moment that peace ceases to exist between the two powers.

'Why' (asks the Abbé) 'have the nations which regard commerce as the most solid foundation of their power, and which make such great efforts to extend their trade, not hitherto understood what an advantage to them it would be to agree upon stipulations that would protect their commercial navigation in time of war? Ask English, Dutch and French merchants. Their answers will be identical. They look on privateering with horror, and they would learn with the liveliest satisfaction that at the next peace the belligerent Powers had undertaken, in case of a rupture, no longer to permit the trade of privateering to their subjects, and to prohibit their vessels from attacking and seizing the merchant ships of the enemy.'

Mably adds that the freedom of commerce during war does not imply the right of transporting contraband, which he defines as 'articles necessary to warfare,' but as not including foodstuffs ('les choses nécessaires à la sustentation de la vie'). All commerce, he says, with a place that is besieged or blockaded is prohibited.

The arguments of this author in favour of abolishing privateering would apply with equal force to capture by vessels of the State; but it is worth noting that he does not mention the latter. It is obvious that his observations relate to the peace negotiations then on foot, which were concluded at Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748. On the whole it is impossible not to see the reason of Mably's advocacy of putting an end to privateering and the capture of enemy merchant ships and cargoes. A French writer quoted by Admiral Mahan states that after Hawke's victory of October 14, 1747, French commerce had been driven from the seas; and French privateers almost always fell a prey to the English. The number of English ships captured during the war is said to have been slightly less than the losses of the French and Spaniards combined; but the balance of values in favour of Great Britain was estimated at

2,000,000*l*. Privateering had brought gain to English ship-owners, loss to the French. It will probably be found that alterations in the laws of war, and especially in the laws of maritime warfare, are usually proposed on behalf of the nation which may expect to gain most by them, and to deprive a possible adversary of his most effective weapon of offence.

From 1748 down to 1780 or 1782 no material contribution was made to the discussion, with the exception of a work by Galiani, published anonymously in 1782, which devotes a few pages to the subject, and quotes Mably's first edition. He appeals to the Empress Catherine to add to the treaty of the Armed Neutrality an article providing that every sovereign who acceded to it should undertake, in case of war, not to be the first to grant letters of marque, and to regard as a violator of the treaty and a common enemy whoever should be the first to cover the sea with privateers. Then war at sea would be confined to armed public vessels. He admits that the latter would be entitled to seize enemy merchant ships, to take possession of all cargo belonging to the enemy State as well as of contraband of war, and to compel the crews to take an oath of allegiance to the sovereign by whose vessel they were captured, obliging themselves to serve in neither the land nor sea forces 'of their former sovereign.' This was going a good deal farther in the way of according rights to the captor than Mably had had any idea of doing.

Benjamin Franklin was the first representative of a government to adopt this proposal, among others, for mitigating the effects of war. It is frequently alleged that England refused to consider Franklin's proposals. It is worth while therefore to narrate what actually happened. Writing from Paris to his English friend Benjamin Vaughan on July 10, 1782, Franklin suggests that

'merchants and traders in unarmed ships, who accommodate different nations by communicating or exchanging the necessities and conveniences of life,' as well as certain other 'descriptions of men should be undisturbed, have the protection of both sides, and be permitted to follow their employments in surety.'

In November 1782 the preliminaries of peace between England and the United States were signed ; but various circumstances caused a delay in the signature of the definitive treaty. Meanwhile, Franklin, apparently without instructions from home, wrote to Oswald on January 14, 1783, enclosing two papers that he had read to the commissioners during the negotiations, and another paper containing a proposition for improving the law of nations by prohibiting the plundering of unarmed and usefully employed people. He suggests rather ingenuously that, if rapine be abolished, one of the encouragements to war will be taken away, and peace therefore more likely to continue lasting. His proposal amounts to the abolition of privateering. To this he added a draft article providing for the immunity of enemy merchant ships from capture or molestation, and for the renunciation of the right to issue letters of marque, which had not yet been considered by his colleagues. If (he said) Oswald should find that it would be acceptable on his side of the channel, he, Franklin, 'would try to get it inserted in the general treaty.' Oswald did not return to Paris ; and David Hartley the younger was sent over in his place to conduct negotiations for the definitive treaty of peace. To him, therefore, Franklin wrote on May 8, 1783, enclosing copies of the above-mentioned papers, and urging the abolition of privateering, on the ground that ten American vessels taken by England were not equal to one English vessel taken by the Americans. It was doubtless because American privateers, and privateers only, had taken such a large number of English trading-ships during the War of Independence that this subject occupied his attention to the exclusion of capture by men-of-war. Possibly he was also inspired by Mably, of whose book a new edition had recently appeared.

Towards the end of June 1783 the American Commissioners communicated to Hartley a paper of 'Propositions for the Definitive Treaty,' consisting of eight articles. Art. 4 is identical with that referred to above as enclosed to Oswald in Franklin's letter of January 14, 1783 ; while Art. 5 gives a strict definition of contraband of war, which is not to be subject to confiscation or condemnation, though vessels carrying such goods and

the goods themselves may be stopped and detained, on condition that compensation shall be paid to the owners for loss thus occasioned, or that the captor may purchase such military stores at their full value. Hartley, writing to Fox on July 31, suggests that Art. 4 would find its proper place in a commercial treaty. Fox, replying on August 4, remarked that he had never considered any of these commercial questions as having any connexion with the signature of the definitive treaty. He objected to adding any new matter to the text of that treaty, which, indeed, it had been agreed should be identical with the preliminaries. As this treaty was to be signed at the same time as the French treaty of peace, and to make a part, as it were, of the general pacification, it would in his opinion be exceedingly improper, even if Great Britain were willing, to insert any commercial agreements into it, or anything relative to any peculiar advantages to the subjects of the two States. On August 6 Franklin furnished a draft treaty containing the articles relating to privateering and contraband almost word for word. This was forwarded to Fox by Hartley, who added:

'I am desired by the American ministers to say that they consider every proposition which is additional or supplemental to the Provisional treaty to be optional to either party; that they consider themselves as bound to sign the Provisional articles *in statu quo* as a definitive Peace if called upon by Great Britain so to do.'

On August 9 Fox transmitted to Hartley the ratification of the provisional articles, to be exchanged against the ratification of the American Congress. He seems to have been under the impression that nothing more would be required to facilitate the conclusion of definitive treaties of peace with France and Spain, but adds:

'Lest a contrary opinion should prevail, his Majesty has commanded me to transmit to you herewith a Project for a Definitive Treaty with the United States, which, if agreed to by the American Ministers, you are authorised to sign without further instructions. You will observe that it is purposely made exactly and nearly literally conformable to the provisional Articles, and indeed there are many reasons for abiding by this mode; the principal one is that which I touched upon in my last dispatch, that this Treaty, being concluded under the eye of France, and the provisional



Articles upon which it is founded depending for their validity upon the contingency of the Courts of London and Versailles signing a treaty, it would be highly improper to let into this treaty any matter that might contain any mutual advantages to the subjects of the two countries, much more anything that might lead to alliance or future connections. If such points are to be brought forward (and nobody is more desirous of them than I am), they ought to make part of a separate Treaty.'

Hartley replied to this despatch on August 13, informing Fox that the American Ministers were ready to sign the definitive treaty as sent from London,

'when France signs, and they desire to do so. I stated all the arguments of your letter, which therefore I need not repeat to you. They are willing to refer ulterior points to future negotiations. I have nothing further to add but that I have agreed with the American Ministers concerning the form of our definitive treaty, and that our copies shall be immediately prepared for the earliest day of signature which may be appointed with other powers.'

From a despatch of Hartley's written after his return to England it is plain that he was in favour of including the two articles in a treaty of commerce which he hoped to be allowed to negotiate, and desired to substitute for the provision regarding contraband an article providing,

'as part of the proposed defensive alliance between the two countries, that neither of the contracting parties shall furnish either naval or military stores to the enemy of the other, during war with that enemy.'

He took the propositions as to abolition of privateering, immunity of enemy ships and cargoes, and the practical abolition of contraband, to be intended as part of a system of perpetual peace and close alliance between the United States and England. No opportunity occurred for the negotiation of a commercial treaty till Jay's mission to England in 1794; and it does not appear that these proposals were mentioned on that occasion.

The common allegation that England refused to consider Franklin's proposals is therefore entirely dis-



proved. Franklin, whatever his colleagues may have thought on this subject, was no friend of such an alliance, but he was enthusiastic in the pursuit of his own ideals. Almost simultaneously with the communication of his draft treaty to Hartley, he gave to the Portuguese ambassador at Paris the draft of a treaty to be concluded between Portugal and the United States, containing his favourite three articles. He was acting entirely on his own initiative in this matter. On the other hand, the United States Government on October 19, 1783, adopted instructions to their plenipotentiaries for the negotiation of a peace with Great Britain, directing them to urge forward the definitive treaty to a speedy conclusion, and, unless there should be an immediate prospect of obtaining articles or explanations beneficial to the United States in addition to the provisional articles, to adopt the latter as the substance of a definitive treaty of peace. In giving these instructions, apart from their desire to obtain special advantages for the United States, they were merely following the preliminaries. However, before these instructions were even drafted, they were anticipated by the signature of the definitive treaty, without any addition, on September 3, 1783.

The instructions further expressed the desire of the United States to conclude a treaty of commerce and amity with the Emperor, and to encourage the disposition of the other commercial Powers of Europe to enter into similar treaties. At the same time the American Government declined to join the Armed Neutrality of 1780. While approving of its principles, they were unwilling, they said, to become a party to a confederacy which might too far complicate the interests of the United States with the politics of Europe.

Further instructions were agreed to by Congress on May 7, 1784, for commercial treaties to be negotiated with Russia, Austria, Prussia, Denmark, Saxony, Hamburg, Great Britain, Spain, Portugal, Genoa, Tuscany, Rome, Naples, Venice, Sardinia, and the Ottoman Porte. Supplementary treaties with France, Holland, and Sweden were also desired, in order to bring the treaties already concluded with them into harmony with the principles laid down in these instructions. The treaty with Sweden

had been signed at Paris, April 3, 1783; it contained a recognition of the rules of 'free ships, free goods,' except contraband of war, and 'enemy ships, enemy goods,' which had already been adopted in the treaty with France on February 6, 1778, and with Holland on October 8, 1782. Paragraph 4 of these instructions proposes the insertion in these treaties of the article contained in the propositions for the definitive treaty and the draft treaty above-mentioned, providing for the immunity from capture of merchant ships and cargoes, and for the abolition of privateering, which it seems safe to conclude that Franklin had urged upon the United States Government; while paragraph 5 proposes the non-confiscation of contraband of war, together with compensation to the owners for detention of ships of which it formed a cargo (in whole or in part), or for its purchase by the captors. Paragraph 6 tells the negotiators to stipulate that all goods whatsoever carried in neutral vessels belonging to either contracting party shall be free, with the exception of contraband of war; it also defines blockade as

'such a predicament, when the assailing Power shall have taken such a station as to expose to imminent peril any ship or ships that would attempt to sail in or out of the said port.'

Most, in fact all but one, of the Powers named in these instructions showed reluctance to enter into commercial treaties. That one Power was Prussia. Desultory negotiations for the exchange of arms and Prussian textiles against American tobacco had proceeded almost from the outbreak of the War of Independence, but they had come to nothing. This was a dominating idea of Frederick the Great; and in February 1784, he sent instructions to Thulemeier, his envoy at The Hague, to renew the discussion with John Adams, who was then in residence there. This led to Thulemeier's being charged with further negotiations and the eventual conclusion of a treaty. It was agreed to take the Swedish treaty as a basis; and in April the Prussian envoy furnished Adams with a draft. A curious proposal was that contained in Art. 20, providing that, when the two contracting parties were engaged in war against a common enemy, vessels of war, public and private, should be admitted with their prizes into the ports of

each, but the latter were not to be discharged or sold there until the legality of their capture should have been decided, according to the laws and regulations of the State to which the captor belonged, by the judicature of the place into which the prize should have been conducted; while Art. 21 allowed armed vessels to bring their prizes into the ports open in time of war to other friendly nations, and to go out again. The only material alteration proposed by Adams was in Art. 21 in order to bring it into agreement with Art. 17 of the Franco-American Treaty of 1778, which permitted warships or privateers that had taken prizes from Americans or French to take refuge in the ports of either party only from storm or peril of the seas. Frederick would have preferred to omit Art. 21 altogether, on the ground that Prussia did not deal in 'piracy.'

The summer passed away, until the instructions of May 7, 1784, came into the hands of Adams, Franklin, and Jefferson, who wrote from Paris to Thulemeier on September 9 announcing their appointment and readiness to complete and conclude the treaty already discussed with Adams. On November 10 they sent him a counter-draft containing two new articles. These provided (1) that contraband of war should not be confiscated, but only detained subject to compensation or pre-emption; and (2) for the immunity of each other's merchant-ships and their cargoes from capture in case of war between the two contracting parties. Frederick, on receiving this draft, consulted his Ministers. They reported that the changes proposed in these two articles not only were entirely concordant with principles that Prussia had always maintained, but even went further, in aiming at the entire suppression of privateering and warfare against unoffensive people, and at the non-confiscation of contraband goods. They added:

'We consider that your Majesty can unhesitatingly accept these proposals, because on the one hand it would do honour to your moderation, while on the other it is not to be expected that you will ever be at war with the American States or with any other maritime power.'

Prussia possessed no navy, and her merchant-ships were of small size and tonnage, so that for the most part

they confined their operations to coasting voyages in the Baltic and on the coasts of Europe generally. Art. 19 of the American draft, as embodied in the final treaty, expressly recognises capture of enemy vessels and cargoes by the war-vessels, both public and private, of the contracting parties, so that the abolition of privateering was only to be as between themselves, and as the remarks of Schulenburg and the other Ministers show, Frederick's Ministers recommended its adoption solely for the purpose of obtaining in the eyes of the world the empty credit of refraining from a form of warfare which they admitted Prussia would never be likely to employ.

'Enemy ships make enemy goods'—so ran Art. 16 of the Prussian draft. This was made a part of Art. 12 of the first American counter-draft, but was finally struck out at Frederick's request, because Prussia had always maintained the contrary doctrine, and also at the suggestion of his Ministers, who forgot that they had originally proposed it themselves. They recommended that it should not be accepted, unless accompanied by an express stipulation that it should be restricted to contraband of war, and that neutral goods must either be restored to the owner, or taken over at a reasonable price. Congress, says Kapp, declined to adopt this amendment, but, in accordance with the wishes of Prussia, enlarged Art. 13, which abolished the condemnation and confiscation of contraband of war.

When the ten years for which the treaty was concluded came to an end, one of its negotiators had become President. Adams no longer cared to maintain the stipulations which had originated with Franklin. During the negotiations for a renewal of the treaty, he insisted on the omission of the article which provided for the immunity of enemy ships and cargoes and the abolition of privateering. The doctrine that 'free ships make free goods' was practically abandoned; but Art. 13, exempting contraband of war from confiscation, was retained both in the new treaty ultimately signed in 1799, and in the later treaty of 1828.

The next proposal to abolish privateering came from France. A decree was voted in the Legislative Assembly

on May 30, 1792, requesting the French Government to enter into negotiations with foreign Powers for this purpose, and for assuring the freedom of navigation in time of war. Though not explicitly mentioning the entire immunity of enemy ships and cargoes, it is clear from the note addressed by Chauvelin to Lord Grenville in July that this was intended. It does not appear that any answer was given. Chauvelin, in writing three weeks earlier to Paris, reports that England is unlikely to adopt the proposal, because of the gains derived from privateering. This was more likely to follow than to precede an alliance between the two nations, of which, in the actual position of affairs in France, there could not be any immediate prospect. The United States replied that they had already adopted the principle in their treaty with Prussia, and were ready to negotiate. But the outbreak of war between France and England a year later, and the disputes which ensued between France and the United States, rendered any further discussion impracticable.

When, in 1823, the French expedition to Spain took place, for the purpose of restoring the authority of Ferdinand VII, the French Government announced that it would issue no commissions to privateers, and that the commerce of Spain and of neutral nations should not be molested, except in case of attempts to break an effective blockade. As the French intervention was made with the object of freeing the King from the restraints placed on his prerogative by the Liberals who had gained possession of power, it would have been altogether indefensible if letters of marque had been issued against Spanish ships or those of neutral nations trading with Spanish ports. The military operations which were undertaken did not, properly speaking, constitute war against a belligerent. President Monroe, however, took advantage of the occasion to invite France, Russia and England to abandon the capture of 'private property' at sea, offering on the part of the United States to abolish privateering. In the instructions addressed on July 23, 1823, to Rush, the American representative in London, the Secretary of State, John Quincy Adams, says :

'Private war, banished by the tacit and general consent of Christian nations from their territories, has taken its last

refuge upon the ocean, and there continues to disgrace and afflict them by a system of licensed robbery, bearing all the most atrocious characters of piracy.'

The draft treaty furnished to Rush included the articles of the Prussian treaty of 1785, assuring immunity to enemy ships and cargoes, stipulating for the abolition of privateering, and substituting pre-emption for the confiscation of contraband. Other articles provided for the acceptance of the phrase 'free ships, free goods,' and for the freedom of neutral property in enemy ships. The negotiation was complicated by a proposal to settle the question of impressment, which had so largely contributed to bring about the war of 1812. Rush was instructed to decline discussing these questions of maritime law unless that of impressment were included. It eventually proved that neither party was prepared to recede from the position it had taken up on this point at the beginning of the century: and finally the British Government declined to discuss the abolition of private war on the ocean by itself, since, besides being totally new as an object of discussion, it involved a most extensive change in the principles and practice of maritime war as hitherto sanctioned by the practice of all nations. The draft with which Rush had been furnished was not communicated to the British Government.

Three years later, in 1826, fresh instructions including all these topics were sent from Washington to Albert Gallatin; but he was told to inform the British Secretary of State that the reception given to the proposals presented through Rush had discouraged the United States Government from making any new attempt at their adjustment, and he was directed to add that his instructions forbade his bringing them forward. At the end of March Gallatin reported having received an indirect intimation that Canning intended to confer with him on the topic of maritime law; but nothing came of it, and Canning left the Foreign Office for the Treasury a month later. In 1828 instructions came from Washington to Barbour, Gallatin's successor, which were clogged with the condition that the first overtures must come from the British Government. When he spoke on the

subject of impressment of seamen to Aberdeen, the latter replied that the reason for postponing the discussion remained as strong as ever, for there was not the least prospect of war breaking out. Thus the whole question of neutral and belligerent rights in maritime warfare was shelved so far as its discussion with Great Britain was concerned.

With France the attempted negotiation was equally barren of results. Sheldon, the United States Chargé d'Affaires at Paris, had been instructed in August 1823 to inform the French Government of the Convention that had been proposed to Great Britain, and to say that, if this notice were favourably received, a more detailed communication would be made subsequently. Chateaubriand replied to him elusively, though affecting to approve the principle of the American proposals, and left on his mind the impression that the French Government would not be likely to bind itself by a treaty unless the maritime Powers generally were consulted and induced to give their assent. Brown, who shortly afterwards went to Paris as Minister, was told to say that the glory of France was interested in the promotion and establishment of the principle, but was to present the suggestion without the appearance of importunity.

With Russia the negotiation dragged on for several years. In a note of December 5, 1824, Middleton, the United States Minister at St Petersburg, transmitted a copy of the draft convention which had been withheld from the British Government. He pointed out that, in that draft, materials for the construction of ships were not enumerated in the list of contraband; that amongst these materials many were articles of exportation from the United States, either as products or fabrics of the country; and that from this point of view they were of equal importance to Russia. Nesselrode in his reply said that the principle which the United States invited the Emperor of Russia to recognise and sanction would not be of real utility except in so far as it would have a general application. Consequently, as soon as the Powers whose consent was indispensable should have shown the same dispositions, the Emperor would authorise his Minister to discuss the different articles



of an Act which would be a crown of glory to modern diplomacy.

In 1830 Van Buren wrote to John Randolph that the Russian Minister at Washington had given him to understand that the Russian Government might be disposed to conclude a treaty regarding the rights and duties of neutrals. In a retrospect of the past history of the question he asserted that the Treaty of Utrecht 'recognised the principle of free ships, free goods,' just as many other writers have alleged; but the truth is that Art. 17 to that effect in the commercial treaty between France and England, as also Art. 23 of the treaty between Spain and England of 1667, renewed by Art. 12 of the treaty of 1713 between the same Powers, was merely a stipulation between the contracting parties, and not a declaration as to the principles of international law. He further alleged that the Treaty of Utrecht, renewed by the Treaty of Versailles of 1783, gave the most solemn sanction to the principles of the first Armed Neutrality, 'as forming the basis of the universal code of maritime legislation among the naval Powers of the world!' As a matter of fact, the Treaties of Utrecht do not mention blockade, and declare that enemy ships shall make enemy goods. He said further that the draft convention of 1823, containing a clause exempting merchant ships and their cargoes, being private property, from capture in time of war, and thus entirely suppressing privateer warfare, was the first instance of a formal proposition to admit this innovation, entirely forgetting the proposals made to Hartley in 1783, and the treaty with Prussia of 1785 in which they were actually inserted. He argued that by the suppression of privateer warfare the United States would deprive themselves of their most powerful arm in time of war, and proceeded as follows:

'The novel character of this proposition, the very important bearings its adoption must have upon the interests, perhaps the safety, of the United States; the deep question of policy which it involves; and the very doubtful expediency of restricting our marine warfare to our young navy alone, are considerations which make the President pause before committing his country upon a subject of so deep importance to its security. But, convinced by the answer of the Russian minister to Mr Middleton's proposition that the time has not



yet arrived when any definitive result could be expected from its renewal, he has thought it expedient to leave it out of view for the present, and to confine the negotiation within the limits traced out by the acknowledged principles of the neutral leagues of 1780 and 1800.'

This mild language is in marked contrast with that employed by Adams in 1823 to denounce 'a system of licensed robbery, bearing all the most atrocious characters of piracy.' The discussion dragged on till the end of 1840, when Cambreleng reported from St Petersburg to Forsyth that, if there was little disposition formerly to enter into a treaty, there was still less since the formation of the Quadruple Alliance, to which Great Britain and Russia were parties; and that instructions on the subject would be wholly unavailing.

It is well known that in 1854 Great Britain and France, for the purposes of the Crimean War, provisionally agreed to renounce the capture of enemy goods in neutral ships and of neutral goods in enemy ships. Early in March of that year Lord Clarendon had a conversation with Mr Buchanan, the United States Minister in London, in which he is said to have expressed a strong opinion against privateering, as inconsistent with modern civilisation, and liable to great abuses. Buchanan admitted that the practice was subject to great abuses, but said it did not seem possible for the United States to agree to its suppression unless the naval Powers would go one step further and consent that war against private property should be abolished altogether upon the ocean, as it had been already upon the land. He told Lord Clarendon that the genuine dictate of Christianity and civilisation would be to abolish war against private property upon the ocean altogether, and only employ the navies of the world in public warfare against the enemy, as their armies were now employed.

One cannot help wondering what kind of Christianity it is that forbids the appropriation of private property, while it dictates the employment of warships for the destruction of life, or why taking life should be regarded as more civilised than the appropriation of goods. In

a despatch of April 13 to Buchanan, written apparently in reply, Mr Marcy, the Secretary of State, said that, though several American treaties contained a stipulation that subjects or citizens of the one party, being neutral, who should accept commissions or letters of marque and engage in the privateer service, the other party being belligerent, might be treated as pirates, he did not think the President would permit it to be inserted in any new one. Nor was the United States Government prepared to listen to any proposal for a total suppression of privateering, whereby it would preclude itself from resorting to the merchant marine of the country in time of war. Writing to Mr Seymour, United States Minister at St Petersburg, Marcy says that

‘the decisions of admiralty courts in this [i.e. the United States] and other countries have frequently affirmed the doctrine that a belligerent may seize and confiscate enemy’s property found on board of a neutral vessel; the general consent of nations, therefore, is necessary to change it.’

From the President’s message of December 4, 1854, it appears that proposals were made to the principal European Powers to conclude a treaty on this subject; and one was actually signed with Russia on July 22. The King of the Two Sicilies expressed his readiness to enter into a similar convention. The King of Prussia entirely approved of the draft treaty which had been submitted to him, but proposed the addition of an article providing for the renunciation of privateering. In commenting on this suggestion, Mr Pierce said that the bare adoption of such a rule would place the commerce of a nation possessing a comparatively small naval force at the mercy of its enemy in case of war with a Power of decided naval superiority. He added :

‘The proposal to surrender the right to employ privateers is professedly founded upon the principle that the private property of unoffending non-combatants, though enemies, should be exempt from the ravages of war; but the proposed surrender goes but little way in carrying out that principle, which equally requires that such private property should not be seized or molested by national ships of war. Should the leading Powers of Europe concur in proposing, as a rule of international law, to exempt private property upon the

ocean from seizure by public armed cruisers as well as by privateers, the United States will readily meet them upon that broad ground.'

After this there can be no cause for surprise that, when the United States were invited to accede to the Declaration of Paris in the summer of 1856, they declined unless there were added to the clause declaring the abolition of privateering the words :

'and that the private property of the subjects or citizens of a belligerent on the high seas shall be exempted from seizure by public armed vessels of the other belligerent except it be contraband.'

Marcy, in his instructions to American representatives at the Courts of Powers that were not parties to the Declaration, objected to Protocol 24 of the Congress of Paris, providing that

'the Powers which shall have acceded to it cannot hereafter enter into any arrangement in regard to the application of the right of neutrals in time of war, which does not at the same time rest on the four principles which are the object of the said declaration,'

on the ground that this amounted to the surrender of an important attribute of sovereignty—that of negotiating with any nation on the subject of neutral rights, unless such negotiations embraced all the propositions contained in the Declaration. He alleged that some of the Powers which were parties to it were under treaty stipulations with the United States, in which the right to resort to privateers was not only recognised, but the manner of employing them was regulated with great particularity. Unless the abolition of privateering gave a free application to the principles upon which it was based, and was made to withdraw private property upon the ocean from seizure by public armed vessels, as well as by privateers, it would be exceedingly injurious to the commerce of all nations which did not occupy the first rank among naval Powers.

In his reply to those diplomatic representatives at Washington whose Governments had invited the accession of the United States, Marcy argued that there was no more reason to abandon the right of commissioning privateers than to refrain from enlisting volunteers in a

war on land, and that it was impossible to draw a distinction between different descriptions of the public force; the pretence, he added, that ships not belonging permanently to a regular navy were more likely to disregard the rights of neutrals than those which do belong to such a navy was not well sustained by modern experience. He quoted French writers such as Valin and Pistoye, and Duverdy, in favour of the view that privateering was a lawful and time-honoured method of warfare. He then suggested that a due regard to the fair claims of neutrals would seem to require some modification, if not an abandonment, of the doctrine in relation to contraband trade. The laws of siege and blockade, he believed, afforded all the remedies against neutrals that the parties to a war could justly claim. A further interference with the ordinary pursuits of neutrals, in no wise to blame for an existing state of hostilities, was contrary to the obvious dictates of justice. Thus the right of search, which had been the source of so much annoyance, and of so many injuries to neutral commerce, would be restricted to such cases only as justified a suspicion of an attempt to trade with places actually in a state of siege or blockade. Neutrals ought to be left to pursue their ordinary trade with either belligerent, without restrictions in respect to the articles entering into it.

Russia accepted the condition under which the United States was ready to consent to the abolition of privateering, and undertook to vote with the United States in case a collective deliberation took place. The American Minister in Paris, Mason, was instructed in July 1856 to propose to the French Government to enter into an arrangement for the accession of the United States, provided the Marcy amendment, as it came to be called, was accepted. Negotiations were begun with Count Walewski for a treaty; and the French Government declared their readiness to sign if Great Britain was also willing to consent. Mason thereupon wrote in December to Dallas, his London colleague, asking him to take the necessary steps to ascertain the views of the British Government; but Dallas answered that his instructions forbade his moving in the matter. Dallas, as appears from his private correspondence, was wholly opposed to

the idea of abolishing privateers, even with Marcy's amendment; and Marcy had instructed him not to discuss the subject with the British Government, unless they broached it to him. Kapp quotes him as writing to Dallas on January 4, 1857:

'If we had refused to accede to the Declaration of Paris on the sole ground that it abolished privateering, we should have fallen into a completely isolated position, as all other powers had given their approval to the whole Declaration. Our position before the world is now reversed; we shall, with perhaps the sole exception of England, have all nations with us. I would not, however, have made a proposal, to avoid the one or to ensure the other, which I did not think right in itself and generally in favour of the interests of our country.'

Full powers to conclude were sent to Mason in February 1857, but Marcy still refrained from instructing Dallas, and on March 4 handed over charge of the Department of State to his successor. Mr Seward, in his circular despatch of April 24, 1861, states that instructions were despatched to Dallas on January 31, 1857, but that the proposition had not been 'directly' presented to the British Government when General Pierce's presidency came to an end; and that Buchanan, the new President, directed that the negotiations should be suspended for the purpose of enabling him to examine the questions involved. But from a private letter of Dallas to Cass, dated March 10, we find that he had recently submitted to the British Foreign Secretary the draft of a convention on this subject. From a further letter of April 28 we learn that the new American Administration had retracted the offer before it was either accepted or declined by the British Government. Dallas, according to Kapp, told the English Minister in April 1857 that Buchanan thought Marcy had gone too far with his proposals, and that it was better to let the matter drop, since the United States could not give up privateering, so long as they did not possess a navy as strong as that of England. Kapp also states that Buchanan had gone even further than Marcy, and demanded, in favour of neutrals, restrictions on the right of blockade, which, if they had been put forward seriously, would have been unconditionally refused by the maritime Powers, with England at their head; and

that Dallas publicly declared the utterances of Cass, the new Secretary of State, with regard to the extension of Marcy's principles to blockade, to be a mere mask, to hide the apparent change of views on the part of his Government. If all this be exact, the German writer is probably not unjust when he accuses both Marcy and Buchanan of not having acted quite straightforwardly. In these circumstances it is to be regretted that the official despatches exchanged between the Department of State and the Ministers at Paris and London in relation to this matter have not been officially published in America.

The Civil War in America began on April 11, 1861. Jefferson Davis had announced his intention of issuing letters of marque. President Lincoln had declared that privateers in the insurgent service would be treated as pirates, and on April 19 had proclaimed a blockade of the ports of South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Louisiana, Mississippi and Texas, to which those of Virginia and North Carolina were added on the 27th. The French and British Governments thereupon put out declarations of neutrality, recognising the Confederates as belligerents, that of Great Britain being dated May 14. On April 24 Mr Seward issued instructions to the United States Ministers in Great Britain, France, Russia, Prussia, Austria, Belgium, Italy, and Denmark, to ask the Governments to which they were accredited whether they were disposed to negotiate for the accession of the United States to the Declaration of Paris. For their own information he added that the President adhered to the opinion expressed by Marcy, that it would be to the advantage of all nations that the property and effects of private individuals, not contraband, should be exempt from seizure or confiscation by national vessels in maritime war, but did not instruct them to press this latter proposal. Some of them, however, interpreted this as a positive direction to submit the proposition to the Governments to which they were accredited. The French and British Governments, which were acting together, declined to accede to this desired change in the law of nations. They accepted the proposal to enter into a convention for the accession of the United States to the Declaration of Paris ; but they intimated that the engage-

ment would be prospective and would not invalidate anything already done. They afterwards proposed to make a declaration on signing the convention, of which a draft had been furnished to them, to the effect that they did not intend thereby to undertake any engagement which should have any bearing, direct or indirect, on the internal differences then prevailing in the United States. Seward, in instructing Mr Adams that the proposed declaration was inadmissible, said that if Her Majesty's Government insisted on making this declaration, the negotiation must for the present be suspended. He hoped, he added, that the propitious time for its resumption was not far distant, and that, when it arrived, Great Britain would not only accept willingly and unconditionally the accession of the United States to all the articles of the Declaration of Paris, but would

'consent, as the United States had so often invited, that the private property, not contraband, of citizens and subjects of nations in collision shall be exempted from confiscation equally in warfare waged on the land and in warfare waged upon the seas, which are the common highway of all nations.'

Lord Russell, in his reply, explained with great frankness the grounds of the proposed declaration. The Government of the United States had designated the persons concerned in resistance to its authority as rebels and pirates. On the one hand, in consequence of the British proclamation of neutrality, it logically followed that the so-called Confederate States were recognised as a belligerent, and might by the law of nations arm privateers, which must be regarded as the armed vessels of a belligerent. With equal logic and consistency it would follow, from the position taken by the United States, that the privateers of the southern states might be decreed to be pirates, and it might further be argued by the United States that a European Power signing with the United States a convention declaring that privateering remains abolished would be bound to treat the privateers of the so-called Confederate States as pirates. Thus, without the proposed declaration, Her Majesty's Government declined to bind themselves to a convention which might be construed as an engagement to interfere in the unhappy dissensions prevailing in the United States. Thouvenel



gave verbally to Dayton the same explanation that Lord Russell had furnished to Adams, and afterwards confirmed it in writing.

The negotiation in all its parts therefore fell to the ground. It is worth while noticing that Dayton reported, so early as the middle of May, that Thouvenel had reminded him that Great Britain, during the war of the American revolution, did not treat American privateers as pirates, and had argued that historical precedents were in favour of treating Southern vessels as those of a regular belligerent. Dayton was personally opposed to giving up privateering, unless he was able 'to obtain a provision exempting from seizure private property afloat (excepting contraband), the same as private property is now exempt on land.' He pointed out to Seward that to accede to the Declaration of Paris would merely tie the hands of the United States Government in regard to privateers, but would not at all enlarge their rights as against a belligerent not a party 'to the treaty;' nor would it bind the European Governments who signed it to enforce the laws of piracy as against such a belligerent power 'not a party to the treaty.' In accordance with his own views he wrote to Thouvenel offering the accession of the United States to the Declaration of Paris, with the addition to clause 1 of words stipulating for the exemption of the private property of a belligerent on the high seas from seizure by the armed vessels of the other belligerent, unless it were contraband. Seward, in reply, reminded him that his instructions had required him to tender accession to the Declaration 'pure and simple.' He also said, what is particularly important, as showing the object with which the offer was made, that by acceding to the Declaration the United States Government expected to remove every cause that any foreign Power could have for the recognition of the insurgents as a belligerent Power.

No further opportunity for urging the adoption of the Marcy amendment occurred until the First Peace Conference in the last year of the nineteenth century, when it was brought forward by the United States delegates in a long memorandum. The Conference did not consider the discussion of this proposal to be within their competence,



but expressed a wish that it might be referred to a subsequent Conference for consideration. In 1907, at the Second Hague Conference, the proposal was again advocated by the United States delegates in several speeches. The existing practice was stigmatised as savouring of the savagery of ancient war, and as the last remaining relic of ancient piracy. The proposal to abandon it was described as humane and pacific. It may be noted that no offer was made to give up the right of issuing letters of marque in return for the desired concession of the 'inviolability of private property'; but this may have been because the United States in 1898 had expressed its intention not to resort to privateering in the war with Spain, and might be regarded as virtually abandoning the practice. The proposal was resisted by the British, French, Russian and Japanese delegations, and supported by Austria-Hungary, Italy, and, with the reservation that the question of contraband and blockade must first be settled, by Germany. It was not considered worth while to mention the subject in the final act of the Conference, though a wish was expressed

'that the preparation of regulations relative to the laws and customs of naval war should figure in the programme of the next conference, and that, in any case, the Powers may apply, as far as possible, to war by sea the principles of the convention relative to the laws and customs of war on land.'

So far as can be judged from the published documents relating to the International Naval Conference held in London from December 1908 to February 1909, although unanimous agreement was arrived at with regard to contraband and blockade, no allusion was made on that occasion to the immunity of enemy ships and cargoes from capture and confiscation.

We have now brought our sketch of this movement to a close. In another article we propose to examine the principal arguments for and against the 'immunity of private property' in maritime warfare.

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## Art. 2.—BOSWELL'S AUTOBIOGRAPHY.

THE portly figure of Samuel Johnson, LL.D., is now to be seen beneath the shadow of his favourite church in the Strand, where, as he described it, the tide of life runs fullest and strongest. No London statue surely is more happily placed. His faithful henchman stands in Lichfield market-place. This tardy homage was not paid until upwards of a hundred and twenty years had elapsed since he produced his great work—an unseemly and ungrateful delay. That work, which 'it were vain to praise and idle to condemn,' has enjoyed a complete and diligent exegesis at the hands of many commentators. And yet there is one aspect of the 'Life'—namely, the light which it throws upon the author himself, and his ulterior aim in writing it—to which we cannot help thinking that insufficient attention has been directed.

Mr Croker, the first and the most useful of Boswell's commentators, once let fall a pregnant hint of what might be done in a novel direction. Johnson's talk and Boswell's talk, Johnson's life and doings, with Boswell's obsequious attendance, had long engrossed our attention. But could it be that after all we had before us a sort of disguised life of Boswell himself? His character was a strange one, not without artfulness. He was an adept at 'laying traps.' He was full of a ludicrous vanity which led him into sad exhibitions, of the absurdity of which he was quite unconscious. With all due regard for his genuine attachment to the great Doctor, there can be little doubt that Boswell's vanity, the pride of being talked of and pointed out as the follower of so great a being, was mainly accountable for his steady twenty years' attendance and drudgery. With a consciousness that his friends were laughing at him, he felt all the time that he was really wiser than they; and he longed to earn the reputation of a solid, capable man, full of a prodigious faith and constancy, which was more than justified by the event. He would take care that the world should do him justice. Though deplorably infirm of purpose—the very slave of the flesh—he was pious, if not superstitious. All his friends knew these failings well, and laughed loudly. He would have been their standing 'butt' at the Club and elsewhere, had not his

stolid insensibility and good humour frustrated all such attempts. What if into the texture of his book he could contrive to infuse a sort of *apologia* for himself and for his whole life, and thus prove that he was not unworthy of his great friend? What if he should, while professedly delineating the Doctor, make himself loom yet larger; and, while affecting to remain in the background, set forth his own life and career, show what his own character was, and how deeply respected was that character by Johnson? He has really done all this, and, in an exceedingly adroit and artful way, has made Johnson his advocate and defender.

How strange a thing is this! All the time he was toiling at the oar, while affecting to portray his great chief, he pursued another aim, laying up stores of material for his own exaltation, with a view to setting before the reader a perfect picture of 'James Boswell, of Auchinleck, Esquire,' second only to that of the great man himself. So cleverly has he carried out his system that it is impossible to lay down the volumes without the conviction that there has been with us a very interesting, capable person, one of great ability and general attraction, quite fitted to hold his own with the eminent man he describes. And what more particularly fortifies this theory is that 'The Life of Johnson' is, for three-quarters of its extent, made up of minutely reported conversations, which, after all, are mere illustrations of character, not incidents. The remaining fourth was compiled from the many short 'lives' that had already appeared. These additional matters Boswell furnishes in a rather dry, austere fashion; but, when he himself comes on the stage, all is vivacity and colour. He moves to and fro with spirit and animation. The contrast is extraordinary between the cold, laboured periods of the official record and the gay, rattling business that sets in when the chief actor enters on the scene.

Let any intelligent reader ask himself the simple question: Could a full and satisfactory account of the details of Boswell's life, proceedings, character, tastes and follies, be supplied from the 'Life'? There can be no hesitation as to the answer. Even where there is no direct statement, or where the matter is slurred over, we can infer the truth from innumerable passages. If such

is the case, it is a fair presumption that our author intended to furnish a complete and favourable account of himself. It is hardly an exaggeration to say that he has told as much of himself as he has of Johnson, if not more. We learn all about his ancient family and its long descent; his father, wife, children, brothers, cousins; how he came to choose a profession and change it; his travels, his religion; his feelings, sufferings, weaknesses, absurdities—all these topics being introduced into talks with his friend in an easy, natural way. For, if the great man were interested, so might be the reader. He mentions every distinguished person he knew; he relates his various adventures in love and travel. Every book or pamphlet that he wrote is described, and every book that he intended to write; and he unfolds to us all his hatreds and dislikes in the most unrestrained fashion. In short, none of the elements supplied in an autobiography are wanting.

Not content with giving these incidental accounts of himself and his doings, Boswell was, moreover, haunted by the ambition of registering his own views and speculations, even ramblings, on many things. For he was an imaginative thinker, a highly romantic being full of dreamings. These views and comments of his are interesting. Some were of a transcendental kind. It is clear that he put them down, not for show, but simply because they were pet theories and hobbies, and he wished that others should relish them also. All these details about Bozzy and his thoughts, fancies and erratic doings, make up a curious mixture, which almost puts him on a level with the great man himself.

This characteristic opens up a question. When, in reporting conversation, Boswell came to deal with his own utterances, is it likely that he would have been content with a bald report of his own share? He had an amazing facility and power of invention. He must have enriched and embroidered these notes at leisure. It is hard to find fault with him if he set himself to make a good appearance, to 'write up' or revise his notes, put in new 'wheezes' and 'gags,' perhaps attribute to himself a number of good things, even the best of the argument. In this connexion it is to be noticed how ready he ever is, in his answers to Johnson, with quotations, Latin or

English, recitation of apt verses, etc. When capable men such as Burke or Goldsmith were present, as at 'the Club,' Boswell makes an assured appearance and holds his own in the argument. No one would think that here was any common 'butt,' the mark of irreverent jesters. Boswell is listened to respectfully—according to his own story—and always contributes something striking to the discussion. This was because he had the whole before him in his study, and could amend, alter or 'revise'—to put it at the lowest—all that he had said or done.

One little incident is almost convincing for its proof of Boswell's purpose of setting himself and his doings handsomely before the public. It was natural that he should speak to Johnson, and to the reader also, of his marriage. But he could not resist introducing an undignified jest on this important matter, not relegating it to a note, but setting it forth in the large 'displayed' type of his text:

'I was volatile enough' (he says) 'to repeat to him [Johnson] a little epigrammatick song of mine, on matrimony, which Mr Garrick had a few days before procured to be set to musick by the very ingenious Mr Dibdin :

#### A MATRIMONIAL THOUGHT.

'In the blithe days of honey-moon,  
With Kate's allurements smitten,  
I lov'd her late, I lov'd her soon,  
And call'd her dearest kitten.  
But now my kitten's grown a cat,  
And cross like other wives,  
O! by my soul, my honest Mat,  
I fear she has nine lives.'

This seems rather indelicate, as the future Mrs Boswell may have seen it quoted, or heard it sung. There was a certain childishness in troubling the public with such nonsense. Still it was Boswell himself.

Apart from his main object of setting himself forward as a man of brilliant gifts and accomplishments, and therefore the worthy compeer of his great leader, Boswell was most earnest to vindicate his moral character, somewhat tattered as it was. His friends well knew of his lapses, which, from lack of discretion, he exhibited to

the general amusement. At the same time he was ostentatiously pious, strict about church, and sometimes carried in his pocket 'Ogden on Prayer,' extracts from which he would insist on reading to his friends. This further contributed to their hilarity. To do him justice, he was proof against ridicule in the matter. The Temple Letters, however, throw a vivid light on the state of Bozzy's moral perceptions. They show a degrading life of debauchery from his youth onwards. It becomes an almost ludicrous picture when set beside the high moralities of 'The Life,' the partakings of the Sacrament, etc. But shall we on that account deal too severely with him? On the contrary, there is something to admire in the despairing but ever futile attempts he made to wrestle with his failings.

Alas! before he died, poor Bozzy was a confirmed drunkard; and his drunkenness was accompanied by a sort of madness or hypochondria which destroyed his social life, and actually led to the fatal quarrel when Johnson was dying—sad termination for such a friendship. His failing for the other sex was exhibited, not merely in ludicrous flirtations, but in serious dereliction of duty. We may conceive, then, how mercilessly he was 'rallied' and 'roasted' at the Club and the Taverns, when he would venture on pious 'deliverances,' or offer to read a passage from his favourite preacher. But the unhappy man secretly felt that his was not an unworthy struggle; he wished to be good; he 'felt good.' What really was accountable for his disastrous state was a fatal doctrine, in which he at last came genuinely to believe, the doctrine revealed also in many passages of the 'Life,' that sound principles are not inconsistent with disorderly practice. Here was a comforting but delusive theory for a debauchee. Here was the secret of those talks with his Mentor, when he led him artfully into metaphysical distinctions, which Bozzy quite misunderstood.

As to his companions' jeers, he knew his opportunity would come by and by. In his book he would be able to silence the ribald scoffers. He would make his august friend vouch for his character and his morals, and for his orthodox views. He would show how that friend could be tolerant and indulgent to common failings; nay, he would prove that the Sage himself had fallen as other

men. Johnson's example was indeed to be his vindication; indirectly he should be used to save his biographer's character. Boswell brings the subject up again and again, and, knowing that the Sage had himself to war vigorously against the flesh, artfully contrives to take him on this side, thus securing his great authority. After Johnson's death, in his ardour for self-vindication, he was betrayed into an unwarrantable distortion of his great friend's practice. He had shown the Doctor as treating such failings indulgently; but now, after reading the 'Prayers and Meditations,' wherein were set down many scruples and searchings and self-accusations, he fancied—or deluded himself into fancying—that he could prove that his friend was as frail and weak as himself. What a testimonial this would be! In the same view, and to the same end, he used, I am persuaded, to dwell minutely on Johnson's greed in eating, his 'gobbling' down his food, the veins swelling, his inarticulate noises, etc. This was to show that the great moralist was weak in practice, if strong in theory, and was the slave of his appetites just as much as the poor weak author was the slave of the bottle.

But he went even further than this. In his eagerness he was actually tempted to incriminate his great friend. It was not enough that Johnson supported Boswell's theory in talk; his practice actually corresponded. It is most ingeniously and artfully done; under pretence of defending Johnson against Hawkins, he defends himself, Boswell, 'though with all possible respect and delicacy.'

'Here' (he says solemnly) 'let the profane and licentious pause; let them not thoughtlessly say that Johnson was an hypocrite, or that his principles were not firm, because his practice was not uniformly conformable to what he professed. . . . Is a prodigal, for example, an hypocrite when he owns he is satisfied that his extravagance will bring him to ruin and misery? . . . Why then shall credit be refused to the sincerity of those who acknowledge their persuasion of moral and religious duty, yet sometimes fail of living as it requires?'

Do we not hear Boszy pleading for himself? He artfully contrives to introduce the much vilified Hawkins as the originator of these suspicions, speaking of 'the strange dark manner' in which the knight insinuated the very



charges which he himself is repeating. Then, without giving any authority, he proceeds to remark of Johnson, 'with all possible respect and delicacy, however, that his conduct, after he came to London, and had associated with Savage, was not strictly virtuous, in one respect, as when he was a younger man.' 'He owned to many of his friends that he used to take women of the town to taverns, and hear them relate their history.' Here was the whole basis of the scandal. How monstrous is this exaggeration! Boswell himself records an instance of their both taking such persons to taverns. As if Johnson was likely to 'own to his friends' what he had done, if there was any harm in it! Then, as though conscious that his case was weak, he proceeds in somewhat disloyal fashion to drive home the charge. Some friendly critics had urged that the self-accusations in the Sage's notes were simply those of an over-scrupulous and pious man, who magnified every little transgression into a sin. Nothing of the kind!

'I have exhibited this circumstance as a shade in so great a character, both from my sacred love of truth, and to shew that he was not so weakly scrupulous as he had been represented by those who imagine that the sins, of which a deep sense was upon his mind, were merely such little venial trifles as pouring milk into his tea on Good Friday. His understanding will be defended by my statement, if his consistency of conduct be in some degree impaired.'

It is in truth fairly obvious that these self-incriminating passages referred to the over-indulgence in food, and those other trifling excesses, which Johnson condemned as 'sensuality.' But in Bozzy's case the whole becomes a desperate pleading that the scandals of his own life—made more scandalous by his assumption of 'formular piety'—should be leniently regarded.

There was another matter in regard to which Boswell's sensitive conscience was often disturbed, if not wrung. All careful readers must have noted how persistently he drew Johnson into argument upon Roman Catholic doctrines, and how he generally managed to extort favourable judgments from the arbiter. This he artfully contrived by objection, or by finding fault, and thus prompting Johnson to defend. In his comments he



himself would venture on a gentle plea for the old religion. Now neither Johnson nor the reader ever learned from Boswell that, when a young man, he had himself been a Roman Catholic, and had left his home to follow that religion in more comfort; and that he had been 'rescued' and brought back to the fold by a skilled Scottish divine, sent after him for the purpose. It was characteristic that it was a Roman Catholic actress who ensnared him first, and then carried him away to her chapel. These odd 'blends' were common with Bozzy. Here was an interesting chapter in his life; and we may be certain that his naturally pious nature may have had scruples as to whether he had acted rightly in allowing himself to be reconverted. It is impossible not to be struck by the sincere and earnest tone of his enquiries on the subject, and by the way in which he pressed Johnson. At the close of one of these religious discussions, Boswell, quite unexpectedly, confides to the reader that he is a firm believer in the Doctrine of the Real Presence. This would have seemed courageous in those days when hardly any in the Church of England held such a belief; but it shows that the chronicler still clung to this great fragment of his former temporary faith. He also had a hankering for 'vows' and monastic discipline, and clung to the doctrine of a middle state. In truth every saying of Johnson in favour of 'the Religion' is recorded by Boswell with a secret relish. He even goes out of his way to call attention to a fervent declaration of Johnson's in reference to a clergyman who had given up good preferment to join the Roman Catholic faith, 'God Almighty bless him!' After 'drawing' his friend on the subject of Roman Catholic doctrines, one after another, he makes a sort of apology.

'I thus ventured to mention all the common objections against the Roman Catholick Church, that I might hear so great a man upon them. What he said is here accurately recorded. But it is not improbable that, if he had taken the other side, he might have reasoned differently. I must mention however that he had a respect for the "old religion," as the mild Melancthon called that of the Roman Catholick Church, even while he was exerting himself for its reformation in some particulars. Sir William Scott informs me that he heard Johnson say, "A man who is converted from Protes-

tantism to Popery may be sincere; he parts with nothing; he is only super-adding to what he already had. But a convert from Popery to Protestantism gives up so much of what he has held [to be] as sacred as anything he retains, there is so much laceration of mind in such a conversion, that it can hardly be sincere and lasting.'

These are significant words, coming from the converted and reconverted Boswell's pen; as he writes he seems to be thinking of the past, and he adds: 'The truth of this reflection may be confirmed by many eminent instances.' Mr Croker, who knew nothing of Boswell's change of faith, was naturally mystified here, and professed not to understand the allusion.

On one occasion Boswell announced that he was thinking of publishing a life of Sir R. Sibbald, who also had become a Roman Catholic, but later returned to his original faith, owing to the difficulties of fasting. Mrs Thrale advised him to leave the project alone. 'To discover such weakness exposes a man.' 'Nay,' said Johnson, 'it is an honest picture of human nature'; and he urged that there were instances of other great changes due to motives as petty as in Sibbald's case. Boswell thought it 'a very curious life;' and no wonder, for it presented exactly the variations of his own creed. Nay, we may guess that the reason he 'reverted' was the same also, that he found the restraint too much for his love of pleasure. He must have been amused as they talked, knowing all he did.

In one of their discussions the Doctor mentioned the objections to Transubstantiation. Boswell asked: 'What do you say, Sir, to the ancient and continued tradition of the Church on this point?' He adds: 'This is an awful subject. I did not then press Dr Johnson upon it; nor shall I now enter upon a disquisition upon the import of those words, uttered by the Saviour, which had such an effect upon many of His disciples that they "went back and walked no more with Him."' There was also in the Church of England 'a mysterious belief in more than a mere commemoration.' He displays genuine religious feeling when he wrote:

'Not far from the old Castle is a spot of consecrated earth, on which may be traced the foundations of an ancient chapel,

dedicated to St Vincent. . . . It grieves me to think that the remains of sanctity here . . . were dragged away and employed in building part of the house at Auchinleck. Perhaps this chapel may one day be restored.'

At Inch Kenneth he exhibited another curious religious trait. He mentions in his account that he 'dug a little grave' in a ruined chapel, in which he buried some human bones. He did not, however, tell Johnson what he was about. In the Piozzi Letters, Johnson says, 'Boswell, who is very pious, went into it [the chapel] at night to perform his devotions.' Again, on his visit to the Cathedral of Iona, when, as he says, his 'mind was quiescent,' he stole away 'to indulge in solitude and devout meditation.' One of his dreams was to come up every year to London on a regular pilgrimage to St Paul's Cathedral. He hoped that for the future he should 'maintain an exemplary conduct.'

His bantering friends must have been intensely amused by these constant religious outpourings. But he had no shyness on these matters, and no fear of laughter; and his vanity and enthusiasm prevented his feeling how absurd he was. Still, in all his follies, he had sufficient conscience left to perceive that this religious feeling was superficial because opposed by his practice. When one morning, in a sort of rapture, he was telling Johnson that he felt so good and so full of pious feeling, the Sage warned him, 'Beware, Sir, of impressions.' Like the Catholic, he relied much on 'outward things,' as Thomas à Kempis calls them, to increase devotion, praying fervently under their influence. It should be remembered too that Johnson, who was often considered a 'Papist at heart,' did not discourage him in these practices. Boswell, indeed, never lost an opportunity of marking his public support of religion, as when, speaking of Langton's appointment at the Academy, he calls him 'that truly religious gentleman,' elected at the same time with Gibbon, who was 'noted for introducing a kind of sneering infidelity into his writings.' It is characteristic that he adds: 'I am also of that admirable Institution as Secretary of Foreign Correspondence, by the favour of the Academicians and the approbation of the Sovereign.' When Langton somewhat indiscreetly introduces sacred topics in a mixed company, his friend takes care to report

Johnson's severe reproof. Of orthodoxy Boswell was a vehement champion. What modern would venture, in a book of recollections or memoirs, to boast that he had gone out and 'received the Sacrament,' or would give an account of all he felt on the occasion?

It would indeed seem that this strangely scrupulous being was all the time really addressing his 'Apologia' not only to the public but to his own disturbed conscience. He could daily quote against himself the mingled praise and blame of 'Video meliora proboque: deteriora sequor.' He had the terrors of Purgatory or Hell before him, and was theologian enough to know that such a course of conduct was more guilty in him than in the ordinary evil-doer, too ignorant to be scrupulous. Many have wondered—his friends most of all—how he could bring himself to relate the humiliating scenes in which he exhibited himself as disgustingly inebriated, 'drunk as David's sow.' There are two of these inglorious pictures of himself, which caused both merriment and wonder, and were even the subject of coarse caricatures and ribald rhymes. One is the scene at Col's, after which the whole party, including the Doctor, visited him next morning, as he lay in bed sick and incapable, and rebuked him. But we can follow what was in his mind. He was the hero of the moment, the central figure. He would show the wondering public that he was sufficiently important to allow of such an exhibition. Or the truth may have been that his treatment seemed to him altogether unfair, the prejudiced action of envious rivals or personal enemies. He could afford to be indifferent to such vulgar ridicule. The other occasion was when he arrived at Miss Monckton's party, drunk and uproarious. He sat down by the Doctor, and, to the astonishment of the company, noisily plied him with remarks as to a beautiful duchess being in love with him. He then tells how, when he recovered, he felt repentant and wrote flattering verses to his hostess, which he quotes at length, and was in consequence forgiven. Here again he was showing his importance. He was privileged to behave in this way; he could talk of lovely duchesses, and of the charming hostess, introduced by name, who was so forgiving; all of which had much more to do with Mr Boswell and his *vie intime* than with the life of Johnson.

Yet we must ever think with enjoyment of this agreeable and good-humoured fellow, with all his blemishes, the man of many friends. Few, however, knew that he had to 'prime' himself to be social. Like his great friend, he ever fostered in his breast the hideous asp, hypochondria. At the opening of the 'Life' he dwells with great minuteness and greater sympathy upon Johnson's affliction in this way. Boswell suffered terribly from 'the Black Dog,' as it used to be called at Streatham—'perpetual irritation, fretfulness and impatience,' and a dejection, gloom and despair, which made existence misery. 'A dismal malady indeed,' he calls it himself. Speaking of his friend, he says:

'All his enjoyments were but temporary interruptions of its baleful influence. How wonderful, how unsearchable are the ways of God! . . . Blest with all the powers of genius, etc., he was at the same time visited with a disorder so afflictive that they who know it by dire experience will not envy his exalted endowments.'

Here is the personal note; and poor Bozzy is clearly thinking of his own sorrows. It was like his vanity to describe them in great detail in a series of papers in the 'London Magazine,' entitled 'The Hypochondriack,' in which he morbidly unfolded the oppression and distraction of this dread disease. He seems, indeed, to have been on the edge of something worse. Sir Walter Scott, an admirable judge of character, who knew much about Boswell, pronounced that this hypochondriacal affliction was due partly to insanity and partly to affectation. Johnson considered it mere affectation. Neither, however, took into account the self-indulgence which inflamed the malady. It was certainly an ailment little short of insanity that prompted his resentment against Johnson for an imaginary affront when that great man was on the eve of death, and Boswell was so sunk in his hopeless misery as to break off altogether with a dying friend whose almost slave he had been for twenty years. It is a pitiful change when we find him saying: 'I wrote him two as kind letters as I could;' in other words, 'I compelled myself to write to him in friendly terms.' Thus he lost what would have been the most stirring and dramatic scenes of his whole record.

Unfortunately he failed, or refused, to recognise the real cause of his malady—excessive drinking, which brought on inaction or disease of the liver and other internal disorders. There is no use in mincing the matter; Bozzy was a sot. He was once found on circuit lying in the street dead-drunk; and not long before his death he met with two serious accidents owing to this cause. But his worst excesses seem only to have become habitual after his quarrel with Johnson, and to have been indirectly due to that unfortunate incident. Dr Percy, who knew him well, declared that before his death he had become unfit for society, and was a regular drunkard whom everybody shunned. He thus speaks of him:

‘You may not perhaps have heard of the fate of the late Biographer of Johnson, or what occasioned his death, which soon followed the publication. In consequence of his violating the primary law of civil society in publishing a man’s unreserved correspondence and unguarded conversation, he became so shunned and scouted, that with every agreeable talent for lively converse and a fund of anecdotes, and a considerable elevation in society, he was so studiously excluded from all decent company, that he was driven into deplorable habits of drinking, which speedily terminated a life that seemed formed for a long duration.’

Of the two popular vices, ‘Wein und Weib,’ it would be difficult to say which was Bozzy’s worst enemy. The vain fellow, in spite of his puffed cheeks, double chin or chins, and somewhat ridiculous appearance, always fancied that he was irresistible with the other sex. His flirtations with married ladies were carried on ostentatiously, though these dames were no doubt making a jest of their portly admirer. But so vain is he of his prowess that he all but takes the reader into his confidence. He had clearly little respect for the adage not to ‘kiss and tell.’ These adventures *de par amours* had nothing whatever to do with Johnson or his ‘Life,’ but they present another facet of the versatile Bozzy’s character.

One of his flames, or one whom he wished to advertise as such, was Lady Diana Beauclerk. The way in which he treated this accomplished lady of high degree—a Spencer by birth—formerly wife of Mr St John, and now (after divorce) of Johnson’s friend, was all but scandalous;

and yet, it would appear, he was so eager to publish the partiality he enjoyed that he could not resist announcing it to his public. All through his book he carefully records instances of his dallyings with the other sex; he notes each pretty face that he meets, and the favour with which he is received. It is worth while to follow his methods. When he was anxiously awaiting the news of his fate at the Club, he tells the reader that it was 'Lady Di' who kept him in talk to divert his thoughts—'her charming conversation' he called it. Yet in 1773, almost at the same moment, we find him endeavouring to apologise to the Doctor for a divorced lady, excusing her because the husband had treated her brutally, urging that her delicacy had been wounded, and that, while in this state, another had gained her heart. 'Seduced perhaps by the charms of the lady in question, I thus attempted to palliate what could not be justified.' 'My dear Sir,' said the great man, 'never accustom your mind to mingle virtue and vice. The woman's a —, and there's an end on't.' The unseemly word Bozzy, incredible as it may seem, sets down in its naked effrontery. The lady was Lady Diana herself. She was alive at the time to read it. The whole Johnsonian 'set' must have recognised her on the instant. Beauclerk had been dead some time, so she had no protector. Yet, indecent and despicable as the act was, we may believe Bozzy was perfectly unconscious that he was doing anything improper or ungentlemanly. And what was his object? to prove that he was favoured and preferred by 'a fine woman' and 'a woman of rank'; for rank, he agreed with Johnson, lent a special charm to conquest.

Another of his 'dangling' amours, as we may call them, was with Mrs Stuart, wife of Colonel Stuart, a relation of his so-called 'Mæcenas' Lord Mount Stuart. This lady he followed in the boldest fashion. 'My intimacy with Mrs Stuart,' he wrote to a friend, 'is friendship, sister indeed to love, but such as I can never look foolish when her husband comes in, who perfectly understands us, and is happy that she is agreeably entertained when he is at his Clubs.' But, tender as he was, he spared Mrs Stuart no more than Lady Di. It was *à propos* of her that he discussed with Johnson the question whether a neglected wife was not entitled to



console herself with the attentions of another. Bozzy said he knew such a lady. Johnson said, 'This is miserable stuff, Sir.' 'But, Sir,' went on Boswell, 'she only argues that she may indulge herself in gallantries as her husband does.' On which Johnson replied, 'This lady of yours, Sir, I think is only fit for a —.' Again an unmentionable word is printed in full! Here again Boswell's friends would know at once where to look, and so supply the name.

So eager was Bozzy that the reader should suppose he was a gay fellow that at times he goes beyond the limits of literary propriety and decorum. It almost makes one wince to find Johnson saying to him, at Ranelagh, 'You, now, would have been with a wench had you not been here. Oh, I forgot you were married!' The indulgent way in which his 'being with a wench' is treated, the implied reservation that it might be pardoned in single folk, though not in a married man, must shock admirers of the Sage. But did he use the words? Or, if so, was it one of his boisterous jests, though Boswell implies that it was said in all seriousness? By leaving the matter in doubt he may have thought to score a strong point in his own favour. And what is the result of this idle record? Taken down in writing, printed, in multiplied editions, read by tens of thousands of people, the impression left is that the great moralist thought such lapses to be a trifling matter, at all events in the unmarried man. Readers will recall Boswell's allusions to Mrs Rudd, the adventuress who had helped to hang the Perreaus. He describes his visits to this person, as if dictated by mere curiosity to see one whom all the town was talking about. Even Johnson innocently declared that he envied his friend his acquaintance with her. It seems certain, however, that Bozzy's intimacy was more close than he chose to record. It became notorious; and he was actually induced to write an account of the lady—some sort of vindication, one presumes. There is a song of his printed in her praise which implies that he had gone off with her to Ireland. Nor is it difficult to gather something of the truth from the strain of his allusions. He calls her 'the celebrated Margaret Caroline Rudd, whom I had visited, induced by the fame of her talents, address, and irresistible powers of fascination'—



a very deceptive description of the woman, who was a coarse, abandoned creature.

Boswell's vanity and egotism even cause him occasionally to neglect the obvious duty of a biographer, and to substitute his own affairs for those of his hero. For instance, we should like much to have heard what he could have collected about his great friend's ancestry and connexions; on which, as Mr Lyall Reade has lately shown, there is a vast fund of material. Instead of this, he dwells frequently and at length on his own. In the very first weeks of their acquaintance, says Boswell,

'I talked to him of the paternal estate to which I was heir. "Sir," he said, "let me tell you that to be a Scotch landlord where you have a number of families dependent upon you is perhaps as high a situation as humanity can arrive at."'

On the subject of Auchinleck his pride boils over.

'I cannot figure' (he says) 'a more romantick scene. I felt myself elated here, and expatiated to my illustrious Mentor on the antiquity and honourable alliances of my family, and on the merits of its founder, Thomas Boswell, who was highly favoured by his Sovereign, James IV of Scotland, and fell with him at the battle of Flodden Field; and, in the glow of what, I am sensible, will in a commercial age be considered as genealogical enthusiasm, did not omit to mention . . . my relation to the Royal Personage. . . . I have in a former page acknowledged my pride of ancient blood, in which I was encouraged by Dr Johnson.'

At one time a re-settlement of the Auchinleck estate was in progress; and Boswell vehemently took up the cause of the heirs-male instead of the heirs-general, which was insisted on by his father. This was a purely family matter, but it gave him an opportunity of again dilating on his family history and that of his ancestors, which he sets out for the reader with a sort of exultation and at great length. He must needs extract from the Doctor various legal dicta on the subject, which were of no value except as 'pious' opinions. He also importuned his legal friends, such as Lord Hailes, and others, for their advice. After telling us copiously of the high and even royal descent of his father, mother, wife and other connexions, he celebrates with flattering compliments the various friends, noble and other, who gave him their

encouragement and patronage. He contrived to 'niche' all these persons into his books, very likely to their displeasure, with the aim of getting himself favoured, or of proving his importance.

Another class for whom he found a place were those whom he sincerely disliked—those who had offended him and whom he here 'paid off'—such as Mrs Thrale, Sir John Hawkins, Miss Seward, Sir A. Macdonald, Gibbon, Mrs Montagu, and many more. A third class consisted of those whom 'he did not care about,' and whom he treated quite unceremoniously, whether they were kind to him or not; such was Lord Monboddo, at whom he had many a fling. Finally, there were those acquaintances who had been 'superior' with him or patronised him, or whose bearing he sometimes resented. These he mortified by inserting disparaging remarks by Johnson, and, when remonstrance was made, justified himself by appealing to his diary.

The temptation to indulgence of personal dislike or malice is strong in smaller or weaker natures. The opportunity furnished to Boswell was only too favourable a one for paying off old scores. It was his duty, he could urge, to introduce all Johnson's friends and comrades; but their attitudes, tones, speeches, all depended upon him, and took the colour in which he chose to deck them out. The adroitness and even craftiness with which he contrives to make his work serve these dislikes and animosities is extraordinary. He could, as his friend would say, 'adumbrate,' or insinuate, or present the person in some contemptible or inferior attitude. But at times when his venom was stirred, he wholly forgot the purpose of his book, which was to set forth Johnson, and gave full vent to his own rancorous dislike. 'These men,' he thought, 'having taken lofty airs with me and made merry at my expense, my strict duty to the Doctor compels me to report what they did and said, and I shall do so exactly without fear or favour.' In his narrative he appears as a mere reporter, looking on with a sort of compassion, but helpless to interfere. 'He found it all in his journal written down at the time; what could he do?' On this principle we can account for the many venomous strokes that he made, even at his best friends.

Langton's kindness to Boswell had been exceptional.

An old friend, he helped the biographer in every way; supplied his own reminiscences, letters, etc. Yet Boswell would set down all sorts of depreciatory things about him, such as Johnson's remarks concerning his combined wastefulness and nearness, and the story of the pickled mango, which the lady of the house would not allow to be cut, thinking to save. The name was in this case suppressed; but Miss Hawkins and others speedily found it out, to say nothing of Langton himself. How Langton could ever have spoken to him again, after the grossly insulting things that were printed of him, is inconceivable. Perhaps he did not. Boswell describes Johnson and himself as going to visit Chambers, who had that day drawn up Langton's will. He had left all to his three sisters; and Boswell actually reports Johnson as calling these ladies, then living, 'three dowdies!' He also describes Johnson as uproariously laughing at Langton, whom he caricatured as calling up the servants and innkeepers to listen to his will.

All these incidents display the objectionable side of Boswell. It is perhaps in the 'Tour to the Hebrides' that he shows himself at his best. Were we called on to decide between the importance of the two travellers, I think that the palm must be awarded to Bozzy; for he, as it were, 'stage-managed' the exhibition with extraordinary skill and patience, 'lugging' (as 'Goldy' said) his ponderous friend through all difficulties. Reading impartially the account of the pair, our sympathies must go out to the joyous, ever good-humoured and equable Bozzy. He was really the predominant partner. He set everything going and kept it going. Yet the Sage in his account gave but a very short and rather grudging testimony to his labours. As Johnson read the journal in manuscript, we may wonder if it occurred to him: 'The fellow really knows how to write.' What would he have done had it been whispered to him: 'The "fellow's" account will utterly extinguish yours, and will be read for centuries after yours is forgotten'?

The attractive Flora Macleod, he tells us, was 'married to my worthy neighbour, Colonel Mure Campbell, now Earl of Loudoun.' 'My worthy neighbour,' forsooth! In their travels they came to the house of Mr Campbell Treesbank, 'who was married to one of my wife's sisters.'

They stayed with him a day or two; and Bozzy loftily declared 'that they were very agreeably entertained by a worthy couple.' On the tour he came across several of his rather obscure relations, who sheltered him. One lady of the house, he declared rather patronisingly, 'was the same lively, sensible, cheerful woman as ever.' This sort of praise would sound strange in a modern account of a tour. No reader would care to know whether an unknown lady was the same as she ever was. But Boswell was thinking of himself and his early life.

It was with a certain pride, or even elation, that he set down the following item. He wishes to account for his not having seen his friend for a few days, a simple matter which it was enough merely to state; but it furnished him an opportunity. 'Having next day gone to Mr Burke's seat in the country, from whence I was recalled by an express, that a near relative of mine had killed his antagonist in a duel and was himself dangerously wounded.' This was a celebrated *rencontre* and excited general horror. The relative in question—not his, but his wife's—was Mr Cunningham; and it is not clear why Boswell's presence was thought necessary. However, here were the elements of notoriety—the visit to Burke, the express, the dramatic duel. But the incident is hardly connected with Dr Johnson's life. Again, 'We dined with Dr Butter, whose lady is daughter of my cousin, Sir John Douglas, whose grandson is now presumptive heir of the noble family of Queensberry.' A Highland minister having entertained him, Bozzy makes this flourish: 'My cousin, Miss Dallas, formerly of Inverness, was married to Mr Riddock, one of the ministers of the English chapel.' He pronounces them to be 'very worthy people.'

There are some strokes of high comedy in Boswell's account of his reception by various great nobles whom they waited on. At Slains Castle, for instance, he was a little uncertain as to their welcome, and 'hung on,' hoping that the owner would appear. He did, and insisted they should stop for the night. In one of his most precious passages he portrays this Thane:

'I was exceedingly pleased with Lord Errol. His dignified person and agreeable countenance, with the most unaffected affability, gave me high satisfaction. From perhaps a weakness,

or, as I rather hope, more fancy and warmth of feeling than is quite reasonable, my mind is ever impressed with admiration for persons of high birth, and I could, with most perfect honesty, expatiate on Lord Errol's good qualities; but he stands in no need of my praise. His agreeable manners and softness of address prevented that constraint which the idea of his being Lord High Constable of Scotland might otherwise have occasioned.'

Yet the Earl, after this all-but grovelling treatment, must have been shocked to find himself spoken of in this fashion: 'I was afraid he might have urged drinking, as, I believe, he used formerly to do; but he drank port and water out of a large glass, and let us do as we pleased.'

Boswell's gallant compliments to high-born dames were in even worse taste. Meeting at a dinner-party 'the Honourable Mrs Boscawen, widow of the Admiral and mother of the present Viscount Falmouth,' he pays a florid and superfluous panegyric to the lady, 'of whom, if it be not presumptuous in me to praise her, I would say that her manners are the most agreeable, and her conversation the best, of any lady with whom I ever had the happiness to be acquainted.' Mrs Boscawen, who survived Boswell, could not have been pleased to read this absurd encomium. And again: 'I dined with him [Johnson] at Mrs. Ramsay's with Lord Newhaven and some other company, none of whom I recollect, but a beautiful Miss Graham, a relation of his Lordship's, who asked Johnson to hob or nob with her.' The lofty fashion in which he holds his court and judges all about him is truly entertaining, and shows that he considers his authority just as decisive as that of his great friend. Thus, of Dr Percy's claims to be connected with the great house of Northumberland, he assures us that he had 'carefully examined them; and, both as a Lawyer accustomed to the consideration of evidence, and as a Genealogist versed in the study of pedigrees, I am fully satisfied.' But he

'cannot help observing, as a circumstance of no small moment, that, in tracing the Bishop of Dromore's genealogy, essential aid was given by the late Elizabeth, Duchess of Northumberland, Heiress of that illustrious House; a lady not only of high dignity of spirit, such as became her noble blood, but of excellent understanding and lively talents.

With a fair pride I can boast of the honour of her Grace's correspondence, specimens of which adorn my archives.'

In advertising his own merits Boswell certainly shows considerable adroitness. When the travellers were at Rosny one wet morning, he relates, 'Sir George Mackenzie's Works—the folio edition—happened to lie in a window in the dining-room. I asked Dr Johnson to look at its *characteres advocatorum*.' He then proceeds :

'In the sixty-fifth page of the first volume of Sir George Mackenzie, Dr Johnson pointed out a paragraph beginning with "Aristotle," and told me there was an error in the text which he bade me try to discover. I was lucky to hit it at once. As the passage is printed, it is said that the devil answers "even in engines." I corrected it to "ever in ænigmas." "Sir," said he, "you are a good critick. This would have been a great thing to do in the text of an ancient authour."

The incident amply supports what has been contended for—that Bozzy, while setting forward his chief, was taking all due care for himself and his reputation. For the passage, it will be seen, does not show off Johnson, but ostentatiously exhibits Boswell. Another of his ingenious devices for bold self-advertisement was the careful preservation of all Johnson's letters to him, containing constant praises of his (Bozzy's) talent, or panegyrics by other people, set forth at length by the good-natured Johnson. This was no bad form of testimonial; and there is plenty of it. But we must bring these illustrations to an end. The exigences of space will not allow of more than an 'adumbration' (to use the Sage's word) of our theory. We have brought forward only a small portion of our evidence, which might, however, be almost indefinitely multiplied, so profusely does the inimitable Bozzy expand himself over, under, and through his vivacious pages.

PERCY FITZGERALD.

Art. 3.—TIBET, AND OUR RELATIONS WITH IT.

1. *Trans-Himalaya : Discoveries and Adventures in Tibet.* By Sir Sven Hedin. Two vols. London : Macmillan, 1909.
2. *India and Tibet.* By Colonel Sir Francis Younghusband, K.C.I.E. London : Murray, 1910.
3. *Tibet the Mysterious.* By Colonel Sir T. H. Holdich, K.C.M.G. London : Alston Rivers, 1906.
4. *Western Tibet, and the British Borderland.* By C. A. Sherring, I.C.S. London : Arnold, 1906.
5. *Parliamentary Papers relating to Tibet.* (Cd 1920, 2054, 48 of 1904 ; Cd 2370 of 1905 ; Cd 5240 of 1910.)

IN July 1905 our article on 'Buddhism in Tibet' dealt almost entirely with religion. Since that date important events have occurred in Tibet, while problems, dynastic and territorial, have arisen which will require skilful statesmanship to solve. Journeys undertaken in Tibet by distinguished travellers have increased geographical knowledge. It is now proposed to supplement the former article by some account of the country itself, its history, its people, and the recent developments of its connexion with other Powers, especially Great Britain. As Sir Francis Younghusband said in a recent lecture,\* we have, as a rule, shown extraordinary apathy in our dealings with Tibet; and, it might be added, when we have been roused from this apathy, our policy has too often been vacillating and inconsistent. At this moment British relations with Tibet are in a somewhat critical condition. That is clear from the most recent official information; what is their present trend it is more difficult to perceive. It is often assumed that the questions which still await solution are of very recent origin, dating back, indeed, not further than Lord Curzon's vicegerency. The survey which follows will show that this is not the case.

Tibet, which the inhabitants themselves call Bod or Bodyul, has been officially described as practically an unknown country, though lying on our Indian borders. The ignorance, if it existed, was official, for in truth much information was available, though our knowledge is

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\* Reported in the 'Times,' November 3, 1910.



far from complete. Through the jealousy of its rulers and their inveterate policy of excluding foreigners, Europeans have been, with rarest exceptions, unable to enter from the Indian side, and have been denied access to Lhasa ('God's place'), the centre of Northern Buddhism. But Indian traders have resorted thither freely, and a few Indian explorers have narrated its secrets. European travellers have, indeed, crossed the border from the north, from the west, and from China, and have made long and arduous journeys through inhospitable regions, but have been unable to visit from the capital. Ten or a dozen such travellers, of whom Marco Polo was the first, are reported to have touched or penetrated Tibet between the thirteenth and eighteenth centuries. No British name occurs in this list. The first Englishman known to have seen Lhasa was Thomas Manning, the friend of Porson and Charles Lamb, who, as an unofficial adventurer, entered it in disguise in 1811. After some months his disguise was penetrated, and he was ordered, from Peking, to return to India. In 1846, the French Lazarist fathers, Huc and Gabet, reached Lhasa, where they remained forty-five days. They were well treated by a new Regent and the Tibetans, but were expelled by the Chinese Plenipotentiary Ki-Chan, who is stated to have arranged with the Tibetan authorities that the direct management of frontier affairs should be committed to the Chinese Ambans, or Residents, and no intercourse between Tibet and British India allowed.

During the latter half of the nineteenth century the number of travellers who have visited Tibet has naturally increased. Most of these have given to the world some account of their journeys; and from the Indian side successful attempts were made for some years to improve our geographical knowledge of Tibet. Native employees of the Survey Department were specially trained from 1862, by Colonel Montgomerie, and sent, disguised as merchants or otherwise, across the frontier to survey and map. Pandits Nain Singh and Krishna Singh did notable exploration work under difficult and dangerous conditions. Both of them reached Lhasa twice and travelled widely in Tibet. Lama Ugyen Gyatso, a teacher of Tibetan at Darjeeling, and Sarat Chandra Das, of the Bhutia school there, made several journeys in Tibet



between 1878 and 1883. Sarat Chandra spent some months at Tashilhunpo, the great monastery near Shigatse. Travelling as a pandit, he was hospitably received and invited to return. He did so and proceeded to Lhasa in the train of a Shapè (Councillor). His narratives are copious and valuable. The journeys of these and other travellers to whom we have referred have been summarised in Encyclopedias and various books, and their routes indicated in maps.

The latest traveller, Sir Sven Hedin, deserves fuller notice. His two volumes on the 'Trans-Himalaya' are somewhat diffuse, and much detail might have been omitted; but the book is a record of solid and valuable work. Already famous for his travels in Central Asia and Tibet, Sven Hedin undertook this task of laborious exploration, which engaged him for twenty-eight months in 1906-08. He was officially prevented by the British Government from entering Tibet, but eluded the prohibition by obtaining a Chinese passport for Eastern Turkestan. Starting from Leh in Ladak, nominally for Turkestan, he diverged into Tibet and stayed there, although he was constantly stopped by the Chinese and Tibetans, and directed to leave the country as he had entered it. His excellent maps show his routes clearly. On his first journey he skirted the Kuen Lun range, then traversed the Changtang (northern plain) south-eastwards to Shigatse, passing thence westwards and north-westwards back to Leh. His second route was, speaking generally, an inner round within the first, though with many variations and diversions; he eventually left Tibet by the Shipki Pass for Simla.

His object was to make a scientific investigation of the 'Trans-Himalaya,' the name he gives to the 'colossal mountain system, which runs in the north parallel to the Himalayas'; that is, the series of ranges which form the boundary between the northern tableland of the nomads and the country to the south, draining to the sea through the valley of the Brahmaputra, the chief artery of Tibet. He may fairly claim to have travelled straight across the word 'unexplored' on the map, and to have thrown new light on many ranges and passes, and on the sources of the Indus, the Sutlej, and the Brahmaputra. During his long delays, especially at Shigatse, he acquired knowledge

of the Tibetans and of Chinese officials, but his book is valuable chiefly for his contributions to geography. A journey across Tibet is indeed 'a serious and difficult undertaking, costing suffering, excitement and tears.' He ran constant risks of his life, perhaps unnecessarily, as in his voyages on Lakes Lighten and Manasarowar. The unavoidable difficulties and dangers of climate—58° of frost one night—ill-health, robbers, and official opposition might have sufficed to turn back a less resolute traveller; but his splendid physique, courage, tact and determination gained him success. He claims to have made only the first reconnaissance in a district where many generations of explorers will be required.

China has long exercised a general sovereignty over Tibet through two Imperial 'Ambans' at Lhasa, assisted by a staff in the supervision of foreign and military affairs. China exacts a tribute from the Lhasa Government and requires it to support the Ambans. The civil and religious departments are under the Dalai Lama as their supreme head. He has a Prime Minister, nominated by China, called the Gesub Rimpoche, or Nomenkhan, who acts as Regent when the Dalai Lama is a minor (as used constantly to be the case), and habitually carries on the secular work of the Government, assisted by a Council of Kalons, or Shapès. The National Assembly (Tsong-du), an irresponsible body, composed of both laymen and clerics, is summoned for important measures, to report to the Council. The general revenue, about two million rupees, is raised mostly from taxes in kind.

Religion is a prominent feature of Tibetan society. There are said to be 3600 temples and convents, and about 33,000 lamas in thirteen of the principal establishments in Central Tibet. The monks, from 19,000 to 20,000 in number, in the monasteries in and about Lhasa, have to be reckoned with as a political factor. At Tashilhunpo there are 3300 monks. The people are priestridden, conservative, and unenterprising. They are regarded as being of Turko-Mongolian origin; are generally short, but strong and active, with small contracted black eyes, high cheek-bones, flat noses, wide mouths and thin lips; the men's beards are sparse. Their characteristics are those usually found in backward races.

They are a simple and sociable folk, good-tempered, truthful, polite and hospitable ; not without intelligence, but superstitious, ignorant, and excessively childish.

The mineral resources are extensive ; but no systematic efforts to win them, except by superficial scratchings, have been undertaken. There are gold-mines at Thok-jalung, north-east of Gartok on the upper Indus, at an elevation of 15,000 feet, also east of Lhasa and in Litang. Indeed, goldfields are understood to exist throughout Tibet, and gold-dust has long been utilised for export and payments ; but gold-mining has been so hampered by the exorbitant imposts officially levied on it that the remittances to China have greatly diminished. Until European experts are allowed to work the mines their real value cannot be known.

The vast grazing grounds support large flocks of sheep and herds of yaks, whose wool is the chief staple of export. The Tibetans are born traders. The lamas are very keen on trade ; and the fear of losing their monopoly is the chief cause of their opposition to intercourse with the outer world. The import of tea has always been a serious question. Ten millions of pounds, valued at about 160,000*l.*, paid duty at Tachienlu (Darchendo) some years ago. The Chinese have always prohibited Indian tea, lest it should interfere with the supply of brick-tea from Szechuan, and they keep alive the prejudice against it. The Tibetans being great tea-drinkers—they are partial to a peculiar concoction of buttered tea—the demand must be very large ; the consumption has been estimated at 11,500,000 *lb.* a year. The Chinese oppose any reasonable terms which would admit of competition. The importance of the question is manifest from the negotiations which have taken place.

The amount and value of the trade conducted and possible between India and Tibet has constantly been discussed and often disparaged. Mr Macaulay in 1885 reported that its total value, through Sikhim, exceeded ten lakhs of rupees (66,660*l.*). With commercial organisation and freedom from obstruction he anticipated a flourishing trade between Calcutta and Lhasa. This estimate appears to have been somewhat exaggerated. For the ten years ending 1895-6 the trade imports from Tibet, through Sikhim, into British territory showed

an average value of less than 3½ lakhs, and the exports from British territory into Tibet less than 2½ lakhs of rupees. In the five years ending 1897-8 the imports through Sikkim averaged 6½, the exports 7 lakhs. In 1902-3 the value of exports from the whole of British India to Tibet amounted to 11½ lakhs, consisting chiefly of cotton and woollen piece-goods, grain and pulse, metals and miscellaneous articles. The imports from Tibet into British India reached nearly 20 lakhs in value, of which more than half was raw wool, while borax, musk, salt and 'other articles' were conspicuous. The total, amounting to about 30 lakhs (nearly 200,000L.), shows a trade which justifies efforts to retain and increase it.

Though Chinese records are understood to contain references to prehistoric Tibet, and communications subsisted between the countries in very early times, no trustworthy history can be obtained from indigenous sources anterior to the time of Srong-Tsan-Gampo, the Tibetan Constantine, whose birth is dated 600-627 A.D. Long lists of Tibetan kings have been framed, but are of little historical value. About the year 640 A.D., King Srong-Tsan introduced Buddhism and the written Tibetan language, married two princesses from China and Nipal, and founded Lhasa as his capital. His descendant in the fourth generation was Thi-Srong-De-Tsan (740-786) the most illustrious king, by whom, through the monk Padma Sambhava, called Guru Rimboche (the precious), Tibetan Buddhism, that is Lamaism, was established. One of his successors made a treaty of peace on equal terms with the Emperor of China in 822; this is commemorated by an obelisk at Lhasa. Sir Henry Yule, in his great edition of Marco Polo, notes that Tibet was always reckoned as a part of the Empire of the Mongol Khans in the period of their greatness; but it is not clear how it became subject to them. The power of Tibet, which had reached its zenith in the seventh and ninth centuries, subsequently waned. It is said to have submitted without fighting in 1206 to Jenghiz Khan, the Mongol, who entered it circuitously through Bokhara and Afghanistan. His grandson, the great Kublai Khan, in 1252 recognised the head of the Saskya (Sakya) monastery as not only the religious head, but also the tributary

temporal ruler, of Tibet. Chinese history attributes to Kublai the framing of its civil administration.

In course of time a lama, named Tsong Khāpa (1355-1417), instituted religious reforms and founded the Gelugpa, or 'yellow-cap' sect. His nephew, Gedundub, was installed in 1439 as the first Grand Lama of the Gelugpa Church. According to Rockhill, a Mongol Prince, Altun Khan, conferred on the third Grand Lama the title of Dalai, 'vast as the ocean,' in 1576. Waddell, however, makes the fifth Grand Lama the first Dalai.

'In 1640' (he writes, p. 39), 'the Gelugpa leapt into temporal power, under the fifth Grand Lama, the crafty Nagwan Lozang. At the request of this ambitious man, a Mongol prince, Gusri Khan [*alias* Gushi, chief of the Oelot Mongols of Koko Nor] conquered Tibet and made a present of it to this Grand Lama, who in 1650 (or 1653) was confirmed in his sovereignty and given the Mongol title of Dalai. And on account of this title he and his successors are called by Europeans the Dalai or Tale Lama, though this title is almost unknown to Tibetans, who call these Grand Lamas "the great gem of majesty" (Gyalwā Rinpoche).'

This Dalai Lama consolidated his rule as the first priest-king, posed as the incarnation of the Bodhisat Avalokita, and built himself in 1643 a palace on the Lhasa hill 'which he called Mount Potala, after the mythic Indian residence of his divine prototype Avalokita.' 'This Potala, "the harbour,"' says Sir Henry Yule, following Csoma de Koros, 'the Pattala of the Greeks, the modern Hyderabad on the Indus, was in legend the royal seat for more than a hundred generations of the Sakya progenitors of Gautama Buddha.' Waddell says it is called after a rocky hill, overlooking the harbour at Cape Komorin, the mythical abode of the Buddhist God of Mercy.

The Dalai Lama's divinity being acknowledged, he was regarded as the rightful ruler. The sixth Grand Lama, proving dissolute, was executed at the instigation of the Chinese Government. About 1710 China directly intervened in Tibetan affairs. The details of the subsequent occurrences are complicated, but the main facts emerge that in 1717 the Oelot Mongols sacked Lhasa, when the Regent was killed and the Chinese decided to

subjugate Tibet. In 1720 the Chinese Emperor, Kang Hsi (1662-1723), formally assumed the suzerainty of Tibet, reinstated the young Dalai Lama, Kabzang (who had been kept a prisoner), appointed a Prime Minister with civil powers, and two Ambans, and demolished the walls of Lhasa. The successive Dalai Lamas were recognised as the *de facto* rulers and supreme heads of the Church, a complete combination of Church and State. After some disturbances which took place at Lhasa about 1750, order was restored by the Emperor Kien Lun, who made over the Government to the Dalai Lama. The Ambans were however, retained, with an increased Chinese force, and the office of the Prime Minister was abolished.

So far Tibet had remained outside the ken of the English in India, who during the greater part of the eighteenth century had plenty to occupy their attention elsewhere. But the first connexion dates back to 1774. In that year the Tashi Lama (the incarnation of Amitabha, the Buddha of Boundless Light) of Tashilhunpo, who was called also the Panchen Rimboche (great gem of learning)—a spiritual chief only second to the Dalai Lama, and believed by the Tibetans to be even more adorable, his office and functions being less contaminated by worldly influences—took the initiative by requesting Warren Hastings, the Governor-General, to show forbearance to the Deb Raja of Bhutan, who had raided Kuch Bihar. Thereupon Hastings sent George Bogle, a shrewd practical Scotsman, as his envoy to the Tashi Lama, with instructions to endeavour to remove the obstacles to trade, and to propose a general treaty of amity and commerce between Bengal and Tibet. In a memorandum on Tibet, Hastings summarised the information then available. The Tashi Lama was amenable, but deputies from Lhasa, sent by the Regent, were obstructive, saying they required the permission of China to trade with India. Unfortunately, both the Lama and Bogle died in 1780-1, before Chinese opposition could be overcome. Captain Samuel Turner was sent as Hastings' second emissary in 1783; and, with the friendly aid of the Regent at Tashilhunpo, natives of India were freely admitted to trade. But on the retirement of Hastings from India in 1785, the idea of opening up commercial intercourse between India and Tibet was abandoned for the time.

For several years prior to 1792, the Gurkhas of Nipal extended their conquests into Tibet, and plundered the sacred temples and the monastery of Tashilhunpo. The Emperor of China, under whose immediate protection the Great Lama had long considered himself, despatched an avenging army of 70,000 men 2000 miles to punish the Nipal Raja. The Gurkhas were compelled to conclude an ignominious treaty within a few miles of their capital, Katmandu. The Chinese accused the British of assisting the Nipalese; every native of India was expelled from Tibet; and the passes were closed against them. From 1793 all British subjects were rigorously excluded; and the Chinese consolidated their power in Tibet. The Dalai Lama was to report to the Ambans; the latter were made responsible for the administration, foreign affairs, appointments, finance and trade; and China laid down rules for the election, at incarnations, of Dalai Lamas and other great avatari Lamas. After this, Chinese interest in Tibet subsided for a time.

The question of commercial intercourse between India and Tibet must have been reopened in Lord Mayo's viceroyalty, as the Duke of Argyll, when Secretary of State, wrote in a despatch of May 5, 1870 :

'I entirely concur with your Excellency's Government that benefit may reasonably be expected from the proposed measure of abandoning our recent policy of isolation towards Tibet, and resuming the former friendly communications with its rulers, which were originally opened by Mr Warren Hastings when Governor-General of India, and which have unfortunately been too long in abeyance.'

In the cold weather of 1873-4, Mr (afterwards Sir John) Edgar, Deputy Commissioner of Darjiling, was deputed to visit the Tibetan frontier, to enquire into the condition and prospects of trade with Tibet and the advisability of making a road through Sikhim to the Tibetan frontier. The relations, religious and dynastic, between Tibet and the British-protected State of Sikhim had at times been close, but were intermittent. Mr Edgar explained to the Tibetan officials, who met him, the Government's policy of encouraging trade; at the same time he discovered that the Chinese Amban at Lhasa had written to the Sikhim Raja, in the name of the



Emperor of China, reminding him that he was bound to prevent the Peling Sahibs (the Europeans) from crossing the frontier of Tibet, and warning the Raja that, if he continued to make roads for the Sahibs through Sikhim, 'it would not be well with him.' However, a road was made to the frontier at the Jelep-la. When some blasting operations took place, an old Tibetan observed that 'the sound of the powder is heard at Lhasa.' Doubtless, too, the echo of the movements of the English officials reverberated to Lhasa, and even to Peking. When Sir Richard Temple, Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, in October 1875, visited the passes from Sikhim into the Chumbi valley—the wedge of land belonging to Tibet which lies between Sikhim and Bhutan—he was confronted at each frontier-post with a notice-board prohibiting his further advance. These matters are worth mentioning, as they afford evidence of the rival policies which are still at issue—the determination of the British authorities to insist on the opening of Tibet to trade, and the Chinese-Tibetan determination to resist it. These movements of 1873-5 have, one way and another, developed into the Tibetan question, as it now stands.

For some years, more pressing affairs (famines, and the Afghan war of 1878-80) retarded the question of reviving commercial intercourse with Tibet. When it was reopened in 1884, after Sarat Chandra Das's return from Lhasa, the late Mr Colman Macaulay was sent to the Tibetan frontier to enquire into the rumours of the stoppage of trade through Darjiling by Tibetan officials, and the practicability of a direct road from Darjiling to the province of Tsang, where wool is abundant and the people are well-disposed. Mr Macaulay found a friendly feeling among the people, but opposition from the Lhasa monks, who feared to lose their monopoly of trade. He advocated a mission to Lhasa, to secure the admission of Indian merchants to Tibet, and the removal of restrictions on trade. With the approval of Lord Randolph Churchill, Mr Macaulay in 1885 visited Peking and obtained from the Chinese Government passports for a mission to proceed to Lhasa to confer with the Chinese Resident there in the interests of Indo-Tibetan trade. This mission was about to start in 1886 when it was suddenly stopped by orders from England, in deference



to Chinese susceptibilities. The Tibetans, thinking that the mission was abandoned through fear, occupied Lingtu, a height in Sikhim, near the frontier, and built a fort, to which they clung obstinately. The Chinese were requested to induce the Tibetans to withdraw, but without result. In March 1888 the Sikhim Expeditionary Force was sent against Lingtu, which the Tibetans were compelled to evacuate; and by September the campaign had ended with the complete rout of the Tibetans across the Jelep pass. Some attempts made in 1888-9 to settle the Sikhim-Tibet dispute by negotiation with the Chinese Resident were unsuccessful, but were resumed, at the request of the Chinese, when Mr J. H. Hart, of the Chinese Imperial Customs Service, arrived in India; they resulted in the Anglo-Chinese Convention of March 17, 1890. This document settled the Sikhim-Tibet boundary, and reserved three points—trade facilities, pasturage, and official communications—for further discussion. The Tibetans never recognised this Convention, and the Chinese could not or would not make them do so.

After prolonged discussion the Trade Regulations of December 5, 1893, were signed. A trade-mart was to be opened at Yatung, in the Chumbi valley, very near the Sikhim border. The Chinese firmly insisted on the exclusion of Indian tea, but finally agreed to admit it into Tibet 'at a rate of duty not exceeding that at which Chinese tea is imported into England'—a concession which proved to be of no value. Trade, except in certain specified articles, was to be free for five years. Nevertheless, all trade was in fact subjected to a ten per cent. duty at Phari. The Tibetan authorities repudiated the treaty as having been made without their consent, and did all they could to render it abortive. When eventually, after much delay and difficulty, the political agent in Sikhim was deputed with the Chinese delegates to demarcate the Sikhim-Tibet frontier in 1895, the pillars which he erected were deliberately demolished by the Tibetans. The Government of India did not insist upon the demarcation, as it was not provided for in the treaty, and withdrew their officer. The Government of Bengal made suggestions for the enforcement of the demarcation, but without success. The Tibetans, with the connivance of the Chinese, effectively opposed the establishment of

a free trade-mart at Yatung; and the Chinese either sympathised with, or were unable to overcome, their opposition. The Tibetans then claimed a strip of territory in Sikkim, near Giaogong, which became the subject of local enquiry. Delays occurred, through various causes, on the part of the Chinese Tibetans; and by 1899, five years after the Trade Regulations were signed, no progress had been achieved in the advancement of commercial intercourse with Tibet.

We have now arrived at a date when events occurred which lead on directly to present conditions. In an article on 'India under Lord Curzon,' in July 1904, we summarised the relations between India and Tibet during the first term of his Lordship's Viceroyalty (1899-1904). When he arrived in India he found the Anglo-Chinese Convention of 1890 and the Trade Regulations of 1893 violated by the Tibetans, on the grounds above stated. Tibetan obstruction in the Chumbi valley had killed all trade. Lord Curzon was prepared to make territorial concessions to Tibet near Giaogong, but only on the condition that Phari in the Chumbi valley should be thrown open to trade, and that Indian traders should not be molested in their commercial dealings with the Tibetans. He endeavoured to communicate by various routes direct with the Dalai Lama (T'ub-bstan Gyatso, who succeeded as an infant in 1876) at Lhasa; but his letters were returned. The Dalai Lama has since admitted to Lord Minto that he returned unopened the letter conveyed to him in 1901 by Ugyen Kazi, because he was bound by agreement not to enter into any correspondence with foreign Governments, without consulting the Chinese Ambans and the Council.

While thus refusing all intercourse with the Viceroy of India, the Dalai Lama was discovered to be intriguing with Russia, which possesses a number of Buddhist subjects, and, down to the Russian-Japanese war, was regarded as an expanding Power. By the agency of the Mongolian Buriat Lama, Dorjief, who was styled his Envoy Extraordinary, the Dalai Lama sent two missions in 1900-1 to the Tsar. They were explained by Count Lamsdorff, the Russian Foreign Minister, to be chiefly concerned with matters of religion and to have no

political or diplomatic object or character. There was other evidence that Russian influence was becoming predominant at Lhasa, and that the Tibetans relied on Russian support when resisting British claims. While the Viceroy's letters were being returned, the Government of India could not tolerate the establishment of a foreign rival in, and their own exclusion from, a country bordering on India. The Tibetan intruders into Sikkim near Giaogong were ousted in 1902. Further negotiations in that year regarding the demarcation of the frontier failed, through the absence of Chinese and Tibetan representatives. During 1902 also there was evidence that some arrangement had been secretly made between Russia and China regarding Tibet. Russia also assumed an attitude of interest in the action of the Indian Government on the Tibetan frontier, which led to remonstrance and explanation; and there was information that, if she had not already done so, Russia intended to establish agents or consular officers at Lhasa.

The position, therefore, had become serious. The Tibetans had refused to negotiate either through the Chinese or without them. The establishment of Russian, in preference to British, influence at Lhasa opened up possibilities of pressure and troubles on the Tibetan-Indian frontier which might be dangerous and would certainly entail permanent military expenditure. Some political action was imperatively required. Lord Curzon therefore proposed in January 1903 to treat direct with the Tibetans at Lhasa, by sending thither a Mission, with a suitable escort, to settle the entire question of our future relations with Tibet, commercial and otherwise, and to provide for the appointment of a permanent British representative, consular or diplomatic, to reside at Lhasa.

The British Government pressed the Russian Government to make a distinct statement of their policy, and to enlighten them as to the existence of a secret agreement with China in respect of Tibet. At the same time Russia was 'warned of our intention to meet any action on their part by more than counter-balancing measures on our own.' Assurances were received that Russia had no intention of developing political interests in Tibet. Regarding the questions which might be raised on Lord

Curzon's proposal, not as local ones concerning Tibet and India exclusively, but as international and involving the status of a portion of the Chinese Empire, the British Government declined to sanction the policy proposed. The policy laid down was that British influence should be recognised at Lhasa in such a manner as to exclude that of any other Power; and that Tibet should be allowed to remain in that state of isolation from which, till recently, she had shown no intention to depart.

Eventually, in May, 1903, the Government authorised the despatch of a Mission to Khambajong in Tibet, the nearest inhabited place to the frontier in dispute. The Mission was to negotiate with representatives of China and Tibet for the fulfilment of treaty obligations, and to deal with the general and trade relations between India and Tibet, with special reference to the duty on tea, and to the ten per cent. tax levied at Phari on trade in transit. The Chinese Amban at Lhasa and the Dalai Lama accepted the conference; but, when Colonel Younghusband, the British Commissioner, reached the rendezvous in July 1903, the Chinese procrastinated; and the Tibetans, through their delegates, declined to negotiate at Khambajong at all, until the Commissioner's escort should be withdrawn to Yatung. They refused even to receive or answer letters. The Tibetans' aversion to the Chinese was not concealed. The Chinese Emperor ordered the Amban himself to proceed and negotiate with the British mission; but the Tibetans refused him carriage, and thwarted him.

After four weary and wasted months at Khambajong, an advance to Gyantse, 75 miles distant, and 140 miles from the Jelep pass, was sanctioned in November, 1903. The Russian Government, through their Ambassador, represented at the time that the invasion of Tibet by a British force was calculated to involve a grave disturbance of the Central Asian situation. Lord Lansdowne replied that Tibet was close to India, and far removed from Russia's Asiatic possessions; and that our advance was inevitable and reluctantly made, with the sole object of obtaining satisfaction for affronts received from the Tibetans. Further fruitless attempts at negotiation with the Tibetans ensued; they refused to send proper representatives to treat, and only demanded the withdrawal

of the Mission. Meanwhile, rumours of hostile preparations in Tibet gained strength. The mission withdrew from Khambajong, and crossing the Tangla pass, 15,200 feet high, into Tibet, arrived on January 7, 1904, at Tuna. The Dalai Lama now took all authority into his own hands, imprisoned his councillors, and, assuming an attitude of independence, refused any guidance from the Chinese. Confident in the impotence of the suzerain power and relying on the support of the Russians, he defied the British force and remained implacably hostile to any settlement other than our exclusion.

When the advance to Gyantse was made, the Tibetans showed fight at various points. Colonel Waddell mentions sixteen engagements and skirmishes. The military operations have been sufficiently described elsewhere. The Lhasa General fired the first shot on March 31. The Tibetans fought with bravery, but were easily beaten, and lost heavily. All attempts at negotiation having failed, the advance of the Mission, then 4500 strong, on Lhasa became necessary. Preparatory to it, a proclamation to the Tibetans was issued on July 13, to the effect that our terms would be made more stringent should the Mission meet with opposition. Lhasa was entered on August 3, without further fighting.

The resistance to the Mission could not be regarded as serious from a military point of view, though several British officers and a few soldiers lost their lives and others were wounded. The Dalai Lama having fled northwards from Lhasa on the approach of the Mission—acting, as he has since alleged, on the bad advice of his ministers—the Amban denounced him to the Chinese Emperor, and proposed his deposition and the substitution of the Tashilhunpo Lama. An Imperial Decree, reciting his misdeeds, was accordingly issued on August 26, reducing the Dalai Lama to the station of a private individual, by temporarily depriving him of his dignity and title; and the Tashilhunpo Lama took his place. This involved the transfer of all spiritual functions and civil authority.

In the absence of the Dalai Lama, Colonel Young-husband was constrained to negotiate at Lhasa with the *de facto* government. The terms of the Convention were settled in detail by His Majesty's Government and the

Viceroy. The British Commissioner had a difficult task, as he had to overcome opposition and obstruction, and, owing to military considerations, a speedy evacuation of the country was desirable. The Convention was signed on September 7, 1904, in the Potala, in the presence of the Chinese Amban who had assisted in framing it. The Amban was to sign a separate agreement, on the receipt of formal sanction from Peking; but the Chinese Government forbade his doing so.

The Mission retired from Lhasa on September 23, only small detachments being left behind to protect the British trade-agents at Gyantse and Yatung, and to occupy the Chumbi valley. In respect of two matters, (1) the amount of the indemnity and the manner of its payment, and (2) a separate agreement providing for the right of our trade-agent at Gyantse to proceed, when required, to Lhasa, Colonel Younghusband was held to have overstepped his instructions. The agreement was disallowed, and the indemnity was reduced in order to avoid the appearance of any intention to occupy the Chumbi valley for a prolonged period. The British Government repeatedly declared that the Mission was not to lead to occupation, and that it was to withdraw from Tibetan territory when reparation had been secured.

The Convention provided for the establishment of friendly relations between the Governments of Great Britain and Tibet, bound the latter to respect the Anglo-Chinese Convention of 1890, secured the opening of free trade-marts at Gyantse, Gartok and Yatung, with Tibetan agents at each of them, the payment of an indemnity for the expenses of the invasion, the temporary occupation of the Chumbi valley, and the exclusion from Tibet of representatives of all foreign powers, thus precluding all Russian influence in the country. The indemnity was, on November 11, reduced from 75 lakhs of rupees, payable in 75 annual instalments, to 25 lakhs; and it was declared that the occupation of the Chumbi valley should cease when three annual instalments had been paid, provided that the trade-marts had been effectively opened for three years, and that in the meantime the Tibetans had faithfully observed the Convention in all other respects.

Though the Chinese Amban had been present and assisted, China was no party to the Convention. A

separate treaty with that country therefore became necessary. The Chinese at once appointed T'ang to proceed to Tibet, investigate, and conduct affairs; but he soon returned to China, and his secretary, Chang, succeeded him for the purpose of making trade arrangements. The Lhasa Government, within the first year, assumed an unfriendly attitude with regard to Phari and the occupation of the Chumbi valley, and repaired the Gyantse fort in disregard of the Convention. They were reminded of their various infractions of the latter and desired to desist from continuing them. In November 1905 the Chinese Government made arrangements with Tibet to pay the indemnity direct to the British Government on her behalf.

It was clear that, though the Chinese had shown their complete inability in the past to control the Tibetan authorities effectively, they made this proposal with the object of re-establishing their theoretical rights of supremacy over the Tibetan Government, and to ensure the retirement of the British forces from Chumbi. The Government of India preferred that the first instalment should be paid by the Tibetans at Gyantse according to the Convention. The Chinese were therefore informed that their proposal to pay on behalf of Tibet could not be entertained unless they concluded the agreement of adhesion to the Lhasa Convention. Eventually, as the Chinese signed this agreement on April 27, 1906, the British Government agreed to accept payment of one-third of the indemnity (and not merely a first instalment of one lakh of rupees) by the Tibetan Shapè in Calcutta. When the second instalment became due, its payment, under the terms of the Convention, to the trade-agent at Gyantse by a Tibetan official was required; but, by a misunderstanding, direct payment from the Hong-Kong and Shanghai Bank was accepted, before orders were issued.

The adhesion agreement recited the fact that the refusal of Tibet to recognise and carry out the Conventions of 1890 and 1893 (which the Chinese had been unable to enforce) compelled the British to secure their rights and interests thereunder. By it China confirmed the Lhasa Convention of 1904, and the continuance of the Convention of 1890 and of the Trade Regulations of 1893, and undertook not to permit any other foreign State to interfere with the territory or internal administration of Tibet.



Great Britain engaged not to annex Tibetan territory or to interfere in its administration. The British Government's object was, by this agreement, to prevent China being prejudiced by the maintenance of the Lhasa Convention. Accordingly, in the expectation that China would use her influence to secure due observance of the Lhasa Convention, Great Britain accorded frank recognition to China's position in regard to Tibet.

In spite of this concession, Chinese officials utilised the recognition in a manner adverse to British interests. The Chinese plenipotentiary, Chang Yingtang, on his way to Lhasa, made trouble in the Chumbi valley, but failed in his attempt to assert Chinese authority there and to ignore the British occupation. He also aimed at obtaining the removal of the British trade-agent from Gyantse. Gow, a Chinese sub-prefect at Gyantse, threatened to stop the supply of provisions by Tibetans to the trade-agent and claimed the right of acting as intermediary. But the British Government insisted upon the treaty-right of British officers and subjects to purchase provisions from local Tibetans direct. Chang gave further annoyance at Gyantse by issuing orders that all dealings between British and Tibetans were to be conducted through Gow. He also appointed only Chinese as officials at the trade-marts. Chang's policy was to take advantage of the fresh opportunity offered by the adhesion agreement to assert Chinese authority in Tibet, to upset the *status quo*, and undo the work of the Mission of 1904. Although the Chinese Government ordered Chang to allow no obstacles to be placed in the way of direct relations between British officials and Tibetan officials and people, Gow, at Gyantse, ignored these orders and actively interfered to hinder such communications. His recall was demanded, and in July 1907 he left Tibet. Pressure was applied to the Chinese Imperial Government to make their officials in Tibet faithfully carry out the terms of the Convention of 1906. But the Tibetans, acting on the advice of the Chinese officials, continued to infringe the Lhasa Convention in many respects. The British trade-agent at Gyantse continued to complain that, although the Lhasa Government appointed special representatives or agents to each of the three trade-marts, direct communication between himself and the Tibetan authorities



there was stopped by the Chinese; and, as no adequate provision had been made for British traders resorting to the Gyantse mart, the Government of India could not admit that the Gyantse trade-mart had been effectively open. But the British Government decided not to remind China and Tibet of the breaches of the Lhasa Convention.

While all this friction between the British Government and China-Tibet was occurring in 1907, the Convention between Great Britain and Russia of August 31, 1907, was signed, by which both Powers recognised the suzerain rights of China in Tibet, engaged to respect the territorial integrity of Tibet and to abstain from all interference in its internal administration, not to enter into negotiations with Tibet except through the intermediary of the Chinese Government or to send representatives to Lhasa, and not to seek or obtain any concessions in Tibet. This Convention did not exclude the direct relations provided for in the Conventions of 1904 and 1906, or prevent Buddhists from communicating directly on strictly religious matters with the Buddhists in Tibet. Scientific missions were also barred for three years.

When, on January 1, 1908, the third instalment of the indemnity fell due and the Chinese claimed the evacuation of the Chumbi valley under the Lhasa Convention, the British Government, in spite of the fact that the trade-marts could not be said to have been effectively opened for three years, and that the Convention had not been faithfully complied with in other respects, accepted payment by a cheque through the Tibetan Shapè at Calcutta. Chang, the Chinese representative, who was then in Calcutta discussing trade regulations, did his best to prevent direct relations, and made a great effort to pay the cheque himself; but the Chinese Government were told that, unless payment was made according to the Lhasa Convention, the evacuation of Chumbi would be unavoidably delayed. The Shapè paid the cheque; and the British troops left the Chumbi valley on February 8, 1908.

The Tibet Trade Regulations were signed at Calcutta on April 20, 1908, by Chang for the Chinese and by the Tibetan delegate; the questions relating to extradition, the levy of customs duties, the export of tea from India into Tibet, and the appointment of Chinese trade-agents with consular privileges, being reserved for future con-

sideration. Contrary to these Regulations, the Lhasa Government farmed out monopolies of wool and other articles, which they were required to revoke; and the Lhasa Convention was continually infringed. In April 1909, the Chinese officials were found to be stirring up feelings of hostility against the English by a newspaper, the 'Tibetan Vernacular News,' published by the Amban in Lhasa and circulated throughout Tibet. The Chinese Government, at our request, forbade the publication of such articles.

The last phase of Anglo-Tibetan relations has been strongly influenced by the intervention of a new factor—the growing ambition of the Chinese Government in regard to its erstwhile vassal, Tibet. In this respect, no small part has been played by the Dalai Lama, who, on his flight from Lhasa, repaired to Urga in Mongolia, where reside the Taranath Lama, known as Bogdo, and a Russian Consul. Leaving Urga about September 15, 1905, he spent some three years in China. In 1908 he desired to establish friendly relations with India and to return to Lhasa—a matter which the British Government thought to be primarily for the Chinese Government to decide. He was ordered by Imperial decree to proceed to Peking. There he was formally invested with a new honorific title, signifying the 'Loyally submissive Vicegerent,' and furnished with rules for his guidance on resuming power in Tibet. These rules intimated clearly his subordination, through the Amban, to China. He left Peking on December 21, 1908, to travel *via* Kumbum to Lhasa; but he did not arrive there until Christmas Day, 1909. Soon after his return, he was concerned to find that Chinese troops were moving on Tibet. The pretext for this advance appears to have been disturbances in Eastern Tibet. So far back as 1905, the Tibetan lamas at Batang, violently resenting the efforts of the Szechuan Government to bring Batang and the adjacent country under Chinese jurisdiction, had risen and murdered missionaries and Chinese. In 1906 the Chinese made regulations for the administration of Batang, including the Chinese and the tribesmen; and next year the Commissioner of the Yunnan-Szechuan frontier called for settlers for the new District of

Batang. In 1908 a further rising took place in that district. Batang and Litang were now occupied by Chinese troops; and further measures were taken to bring the border regions under the Szechuan administration. A large slice of Tibetan territory was thus lopped off by the Chinese.

In March, 1908, Chao Erh Feng, the acting Viceroy of Szechuan, was appointed Warden of the Tibetan Marches and second Amban in Tibet; he was expected specially to extend the control of China over the Tibetan administration. On starting for Lhasa, he took some two thousand men with him. On the way he proposed to bring the independent state of Derge in Eastern Tibet under Chinese rule; and it was anticipated that in the near future the whole of Eastern Tibet would be subdued and controlled by China. A separate force of two thousand Chinese troops was sent into Tibet, merely, as their Government said, to ensure observance of treaty obligations, protect the trade-marts, and maintain peace and order. The Tibetans took alarm on Chao's approach, and mustered a force at Lhasa. The Dalai Lama and the Council appealed to the British Government to stop the Chinese, before whom the Tibetan troops retreated. When the Chinese mounted infantry reached Lhasa on February 12, 1910, and fired upon the Tibetans, killing a few, the Dalai Lama, with a party of about one hundred, fled from his capital and travelled night and day to India. He reached Calcutta early in March and was hospitably received by the Viceroy, to whom he complained against the Chinese and their Amban at Lhasa.

The British Government found itself in a somewhat delicate position. Adopting a non-committal attitude, it caused an enquiry to be made as to China's intentions regarding the future of Tibet, and stated that it had a right to expect that an effective Tibetan Government should be maintained, with whom it could, when necessary, treat in the manner prescribed by the Conventions; the substitution of a Chinese for a Tibetan Government could not be accepted as giving effect to them. The Chinese Government claimed to be merely arranging for the preservation of order and better control, particularly in regard to Tibetan obligations towards neighbouring States; they desired, they said, no alteration of the

internal administration. But, in fact, they took all power at Lhasa into their own hands; and no Tibetan authority was any longer in existence. The Chinese soldiers, numbering over three thousand, were dominant in Lhasa and the neighbourhood. The Chinese Government promised that in no circumstances would the dismissal or retention of the Dalai Lama be used to alter the political situation in any way; they appeared, however, to the British Government to be deliberately making their suzerainty over Tibet effective, so that the result would be the substitution of a strong internal administration for the feeble rule of the Dalai Lama. The British Government informed the Chinese that they expected the treaty obligations of China and Tibet in respect of Tibet to be scrupulously maintained, and that pending negotiations could not be prejudiced by delay or any change of administration; also, that no changes in Tibet could be allowed to affect or prejudice the integrity of the protected Indian States, whose rights we should be prepared to defend. Finally, in May 1910, it was definitely intimated to the Dalai Lama that the British Government would not interfere between the Tibetans and Chinese; that such steps as might be considered desirable would be taken to enforce the Conventions of 1904 and 1906; but that only the *de facto* Government could be recognised, as those Conventions precluded our interference in the internal administration of Tibet. In this unsatisfactory condition, so far as is known at present, the matter rests.

Sir Francis Younghusband's recent book on 'India and Tibet' contains an excellent summary of the course of his mission, and of subsequent events, upon which he has based his comments. As a retired officer he can write freely. He is evidently sore at the treatment he received for not following precisely the British Government's policy as to the indemnity, though some discretion had been allowed him and his time was limited; and he expresses his regret that, by the evacuation of the Chumbi valley in February 1908, 'we deliberately abandoned the sole guarantee for the fulfilment of the Treaty.' He criticises severely the present system of centralisation, of Parliamentary interference with India, and the want of personal communication. This, in fact, is his strong point—that

intimate personal contact is required everywhere. For this purpose his view 'is decidedly in favour of sending a British officer to Lhasa itself,' to intervene between the Chinese and Tibetans, to look after our interests, and counteract the tendency to disorder. But he goes further. He suggests that the Anglo-Russian Convention should be extended to admit of British and Russian consular-agents being appointed at Lhasa, as at Kashgar, to co-operate and protect the interests of both countries. This would indeed be a change from our policy of dispelling Russian influence at Lhasa. The forward policy he advocates is, he says, a 'far-seeing initiative to control events, instead of the passivity which lets events control us; the use of personality in place of pen and paper; and the substitution of intimacy for isolation.' If we had a *tabula rasa* his policy might perhaps be adopted, but, in existing circumstances, it would require fresh negotiations.

From the events described there stand out certain facts and political problems. Formerly, to uphold her authority with the Lhasa Government, China subsidised the Tibetan troops and the three leading monasteries. Until lately, being fully engaged with her own affairs, she interfered little with Tibet, confining herself to defence of frontiers and exclusion of Europeans, leaving internal administration to the Dalai Lama. In Lord Salisbury's opinion, as expressed in 1899, Chinese authority in Tibet had been during recent years little more than nominal; her prestige had vanished since her defeat by Japan. China failed to make the Tibetans observe the Anglo-Chinese Convention of 1890. Though China acquiesced in the expedition of 1904, she has since aimed at lowering British prestige in Tibet, in order to nullify the position gained for Great Britain by the Mission. She has schemed to interpose Chinese authority between the British and the Tibetans, by excluding the Tibetans from direct relations with us. Not for the first time she is changing her attitude of nominal suzerainty over Tibet into effective sovereignty. Subject to the Conventions, she now dominates Tibet; the Tibetan Government is practically extinct. China alone has benefited since 1904. She is more than suspected of having had designs on the protected border-States of India, off which she has been warned to hold her hands.

The Tibetans dislike the Chinese—such is the universal

testimony of travellers. They dread their reserve power, often felt; and they are incapable of defending themselves. Rockhill says that the Tibetans have raised no claim for greater independence from China, and have shown no wish to lose Chinese aid and guidance, no dissatisfaction with the reforms of 1793, but that they have complained and risen against Chinese misrule and abuse of power. If they have not exhibited the desire or ability to shake off China, they have often obstructively disregarded orders and shown themselves intractable. The Trade Regulations have been practically inoperative.

The present Dalai Lama has been a trouble to the Chinese ever since he asserted himself in 1895. If he meant to play off India against China, and England against Russia, he has failed. An adult Dalai Lama was a novelty, as several of his predecessors died young, in circumstances suggestive of foul play on the Regents' part. Discredited by his two flights from Lhasa, his personal sanctity remains, though officially cancelled. It is popularly believed that he will have no successor, as he is the thirteenth Grand Lama. His future is one of the problems. Even though the Chinese consent to his returning to Lhasa, who can guarantee his personal safety there? His accusations against the Chinese must be known to them. It is not likely that he would be allowed at Lhasa any effective share in secular affairs; he would be limited to his spiritual supremacy, if restored. If he stays at Darjiling he will be a care, but also a diplomatic asset to the English. Would he be wise to leave it?

The English have had the initial difficulty of finding a responsible government, capable of enforcing its will, to deal with. Our policy, in the past, had two main objects, (1) to keep British influence uppermost at Lhasa, to the exclusion of all foreign Powers; (2) to insist on facilities for trade. For these purposes Conventions have been made; but those with Tibet and China, if observed at all, have not been fully carried out. We have tied our own hands with these Conventions, and have thrown away some advantages which our Mission acquired: but others remain. Our net gain is that we can now appeal to these international documents. Unless their observance is insisted on, we have nothing. We have thereby the right of claiming the maintenance of an effective Tibetan

Government with whom we can treat; but what is to be our remedy if such a Government is not in fact maintained? It is always possible to occupy the Chumbi valley temporarily up to the Tang-la pass. Chumbi is politically, though not geographically, Tibetan. But would not such occupation mean war with China? We might also stop Indo-Tibetan trade; but it was for the promotion of trade that we have laboured for years and gone to war. Through the re-enforcement of China's authority over Tibet we have a responsible Power to deal with, and we shall forgo our rights if we do not press for the observance of the Conventions, and for facilities for intercourse and trade.

China, now relieved from all fear of Russian encroachments, and beginning to feel her way to a more liberal system of government and to a revival of national life, appears anxious to recoup herself for losses in Korea and Manchuria by the recovery or extension of her authority in Central Asia. What this may betoken in future for the condition of affairs on the Indo-Tibetan frontier it is impossible to forecast; but, even if a Chinese government be established at Lhasa, it does not follow that the commercial advantages, such as they were, conferred by the Treaties of 1904 and 1906 would be thereby imperilled. What is wanted in Lhasa is a settled Government, not hostile to Great Britain. It is more easy in some ways to bring pressure to bear at Peking than at Lhasa; and a Government with which we have had trade relations of growing importance for over seventy years may be more willing to place our commercial connexions with Tibet on a satisfactory footing than was the benighted monkish camarilla which now seems to be approaching its end.

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Art. 4.—SOME UNPUBLISHED LETTERS OF QUEEN  
MARY II OF ENGLAND.

ALLEN, first Lord Bathurst, was, without doubt, one of the most striking and interesting personalities in a very fascinating age. He was born in 1684, and, after a short time in the House of Commons, was raised to the peerage in 1712, as Baron Bathurst of Battlesden, one of the twelve Peers created to pass the Peace of Utrecht. Lord Bathurst was a wit himself, a patron of poets, and he knew most of the men worth knowing during his long life. It is unfortunate that comparatively little is known of him, considering the number and standing of his many friends. He was a man of great energy and activity, and even in his old age was incomparably younger, in feelings at any rate, than his son, Henry, who succeeded him in the family title. In 1771, no less than fifty-nine years after Lord Bathurst had himself been made a Peer, Henry, his son, was made Lord Chancellor, under the title of Lord Apsley; and in the following year the father was raised to an earldom. He was thus one of the few men, if not the only one, who ever lived to see his son Lord Chancellor.

The characters of father and son afford a very striking contrast. Allen was cordial, genial, and cheery; Henry, his son, appears as a dignified, pompous individual, although most conscientious and honest. Through the Chancellor the world of literature has lost a highly valuable possession. His father was the friend, patron, or correspondent of nearly all the celebrated and clever men of what has been called the Augustan Age; there must, therefore, have been at Cirencester House a collection of letters of the very greatest interest. Unfortunately, the majority of these are now lost.

A memoir of the Rev. Joshua Parry, a nonconformist minister at Cirencester, by Charles Henry Parry, F.R.S., edited by Sir John Eardley Wilmot, Bart., and published in 1872, contains a number of letters to Mr Parry from Lord Bathurst; in spite of the difference of their religious opinions they were great friends in politics. It appears that soon after his friend's death, which took place in 1775, Mr Parry was approached by Dr Kippis, the editor of the second edition of '*Biographia Britannica*' (1778—

93), to help him in a life of the late Earl. Mr Parry asked Lord Bathurst's permission and assistance; and in reply the Lord Chancellor wrote:

'I am very glad that your biographical friend is so obliging as to promise not to publish anything relative to my father without my approbation. He could not in any respect apply to a more proper person to assist him upon the occasion than yourself, because few have more materials, and none can put them in better dress. I shall be at Cirencester about the middle of August, and glad to talk with you on the subject, and shall be ready to furnish you with any circumstances of his life proper to be related.—I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

'BATHURST.

'July 11, 1776.'

For the article on the first Earl, which ultimately appeared in 'Biographia Britannica,' Mr Parry was principally responsible. He was naturally anxious to obtain access to the Earl's correspondence, but in this he was disappointed. Whether he made the request in the life-time of the Lord Chancellor or, if so, what answer he received, does not appear. But what became of the correspondence is clear from a letter written by the third Earl to Mr Parry, as follows:—

'CIRENCESTER, Jan. 2nd [year wanting].

'SIR,—I very much regret the mistake which has occasion'd your writing a second time to me, and you may be assured that I should not otherwise have left your letter unnotic'd. I am much obliged to you for renewing your offer of allowing me to see the letters of my Grandfather which you propose publishing. . . . As to my Grandfather's letters, I do not know whether my Grandfather kept them, but I recollect my Father saying that he found on my Grandfather's death a very large collection of letters from the distinguished Persons with whom my Grandfather had corresponded during his long time, and that he thought it was upon the whole most advisable for him to consign them all indiscriminately to the flames, with the exception of a few Letters from Mr Pope, on no political subjects. This, therefore, prevents my complying with your request. I have the honour to be, Sir,

'Your obed. humble serv.

'BATHURST.

'C. H. Parry, Esq.'

It is commonly believed that the motive of the act was fear that the contents of some of the letters might be of such a nature as to injure his reputation, owing to the Jacobite principles of the writers. A few letters of Pope, Swift, and one or two others, to Lord Bathurst, escaped the flames; and a box of the letters of the two Princesses, afterwards Queens Mary and Anne, either were spared, owing to the harmlessness of their contents, or escaped notice, and thus have come down to us. These letters are interesting from several points of view. In the first place, the correspondence commences, in the case of both the Princesses, at a very early age. Secondly, they directly contradict Burnet's statement that Princess Mary never had a female friend, while Miss Strickland gives the chief place in her affections to Miss Trelawny, who was banished from Holland by the Prince of Orange soon after his marriage. Thirdly, both the Princesses, in accordance with a very common custom of that time, corresponded under assumed names. It is well known that Queen Anne and the Duchess of Marlborough wrote to one another under the names of 'Mrs Morley' and 'Mrs Freeman.' We should remember that the address 'Mrs' in those days corresponded to our 'Miss,' and did not merely denote a married woman.

Not more than one or two of these letters have been published, though some of them have been privately printed. Henry, third Earl Bathurst, lent some of them to Hannah More and to Samuel Rogers; and the former, writing to the latter, comments on one of them as a letter from Queen Mary to King William beginning, 'My dear husband,' and upbraiding him for his unkindness in most touching terms. Miss Strickland in the later editions of her works fell into the same error. It must be admitted that, when a letter opens with the words 'my dearest dear husban if you suspect your treu wife,' or 'You have conjured me by the name of god my dear husban,' it is but natural to suppose that the writer was addressing her real husband. When the husband is accused of being 'cruel, unfaithfull' and the rest of it, the matter appears serious. The real fact is that these letters are written by an unmarried woman who was pleased to adopt this romantic way of addressing her girl-friend. They are addressed to 'Mrs [i.e. Miss] Apsley,' afterwards Lady

Bathurst, the wife of Sir Benjamin Bathurst, the first Lord Bathurst's father. Frances Apsley was the daughter of the younger Sir Allen Apsley, who defended Barnstaple for Charles I. After the Restoration he filled various offices, being Treasurer of the Household to Charles II, and Receiver, or Treasurer, to the Duke of York. He was also Member of Parliament for Thetford from 1661 to 1679. Frances Apsley was born in 1653, and was therefore nine years older than Princess Mary. Her father, Sir Allen, was not only an official, he was also a personal friend, of the Duke of York; and it was owing to this, and his friendship with Lord Clarendon, that the two girls became so intimate. Princess Mary was born in 1662, and her early days were spent at Twickenham, in her grandfather Lord Clarendon's house, and afterwards at Richmond Palace. Lady Frances Villiers, daughter of the Earl of Suffolk and wife of Sir Edward Villiers, was appointed governess to the Princesses; and her six daughters were brought up with the two future Queens of England.

Frances Apsley and the two Princesses probably saw a great deal of one another, and when they did not meet they wrote to each other pretty frequently. The assumed names, however, afford some little difficulty. Although Princess Mary calls Frances Apsley her 'husban,' and signs herself 'Clorine,' she yet calls her correspondent 'Aurelia,' a distinctly feminine name. Princess Anne calls Frances Apsley 'Semandra' and herself 'Ziphares.' These two names come from a tragedy by Nathaniel Lee entitled 'Mithridate,' in which Miss Strickland says Princess Anne acted. It is curious to observe that Miss Strickland states that 'Mrs Betterton instructed the Princess in the part of Semandra, and her husband taught the young noblemen who took part in the play.' It is most likely that 'Aurelia' and 'Clorine' come from a similar source, one of the tragedies of the day. The name 'Aurelia' occurs in a play by Dryden called 'An Evening's Love, or The Mock Astrologer,' dated 1671, but the origin of Clorine has not been found.

There are altogether at Cirencester House ninety-one letters from Princess Mary addressed to Frances Apsley, and from Princess Anne, nineteen to Sir Benjamin Bathurst, and twenty-one to Frances Apsley. It would

be tedious to reproduce all these letters, as they are mostly extremely childish ; but a selection has here been made from the most interesting of those from Princess Mary. As a rule they are not dated ; and in those cases where there is no address it is almost impossible to ascertain the date. When the address is given a rough division may be made. Those directed to Miss Apsley were obviously written before, those to Lady Bathurst after, the date of her marriage to Sir Benjamin Bathurst. The earliest letters seem, from the date of Dryden's play (1671), to have been written when Princess Mary was nine or ten years old, at all events between 1671 and the date of her marriage (1677). The following are fair samples of the majority of the earlier letters. The writing is childish and the spelling erratic. Both this and the punctuation, which is very defective, have been retained throughout.

'If my letter has made the efec I wished dear husban on your hard heart I may without scrupel cal you my dearest dear Aurelia which tho I did in my last letter it was with an aking heart for fear you shoud reject that name But if you should never make me cal you lese than dear dear dear Mrs Apsley tho in my heart I shoud think you my dear husban my dear Aurelia, my first last ondy blis. but laying aside these malingecoly thoughts which I hope wil never come to pass, lett me ask you if your brother be to be married today or no for I here he is and belive me ever constant to you til death us do part, your faithful wife

'MARY CLORINE.

'For Mrs Apsley.'

Sir Peter Apsley (the brother referred to above) married his second wife, Catherine Fortrey, in 1687. His first wife was Anne —, who died in 1681. If only Princess Mary had mentioned this lady's name, she would have done the genealogists great service.

'For comiting so many and grievous,falts what punishment is dew what shal I give you for a pardon. I'l by it at the dearest rate imaginabel I'l do any penance for to gain forgiveness of my dear dear dear dear dear dearest dearest dear Aurelia my much loved husban. why dare I cal you dear tho you are dearer to me then all the world besid I know not if you'l give me leave to cal you so it is to presume upon your goodnes to cal you so without your leave but dearest dearest dearest dear Aurelia sweet dear husban I

conjure by all our loves that is past all we have now all that is to come to forgive me by your loved self you that is dearer to me than ten thousand lives then al you can imagin how much I love you it canot be exprest how I dote on you oh I am in raptures of a sweet amase when I think of you I am in an extasie when I think how happy I shold be if you lov'd me half so wel as I do you nay it is imposibbel to love a quarter so wel as I do. Folks may talk of love but I am sure none ever felt it to that decree as I do for you I coud run on in a continued corse of love in this letter til I had filed a quire of paper and not exprese half of my love but it is now eleven of the cloke and I can not sit up any longer I am so sleepy Pray dearest dearest dearest dear husban belive me your most affectionate friend and obedient wife

'MARY CLORINE.

'Friday night eleven a cloke.'

'tow leters alredy you have had today dear Aurelia from me I hope you will read the third tho you I supose are tired with them now I hope my pardon is sealed by you dear dear dear dear Aurelia I may if I can tel you how much I love you but I hope that is not douted I have given you proves anuf if not I will die to satisfie you dear dear husban if al my hares were lives I woud lose them al twenty times over to sarve or satisfie you in any doute of my love think but if you were married to Mr sute who is as I gese the man in the world you love best how much you wold expect he should love you or how much you wold love him so nay a thousand times more longer better should I—nay I do love you. I love you with a heart intire I am for you al one desire I love you with a flame more lasting then the vestals fire thou art my life my soul my al that heaven can give deaths life with you without you death to live what can I say more to perswade you that I love with more zeal then any lover can I love you with a love that ner was known by man I have for you excese of friandship more of love then any woman can for woman and more love then ever the constanest love had for his Mrs you are loved more then can be exprest by your ever obedient wife vere affectionate friand humbel sarvant to kis the ground where you go, to be your dog in a string your fish in a net your bird in a cage your humbel trout—MARY CLORINE.

'Saterday three a cloke in the afternoon.'

'after my prayers to almighty god I come dear husband to make peace with you for it is a strang thing for man and wife to quarel but I find to my great sorow that this has bin long contriving in your head for you have bin alwais with my

sister, grudge one minut stay with me but now at last you have found a hapy ocation thoug a very unhapy one for me to quarel with me but I am sure I take it very il of you for so slit an ocation I told you al along that if I shoud dy I could not have told it & you may be sure that if I wold have told it to any body it hade bin to you my dear cruall unkind Aurelia. not but that I think my sister dos desarve your love better a great deal than I & so doutles she dos & has according to her desart but since you have forsaken me quite I have still the marks that you loved me once & now I do not dout but my hapy sister has the cornelian ring unhapy I shoud have had she wil wright to you unkind Aurelia when you are at the house but still I hope you wil not go tow some for then I shoud be robbed of seeing you unkind husband as wel as of your love but she that has it wil have your heart tow & your letters tow oh thrice hapy she, she is hapyer then ever I was for she has tryoumpt over a rival that wonce was hapy in your love til she with her aluring charmes removed unhapy Clorine from your heart, pray Aurelia I canot leave that loved neam yet dear Aurelia for this is the last time I shal cal you so answare this letter that I may have own letter of your dear hand wrighting to look upon & say this gold ring this pice of cornelian ring & this letter came from the cruall fair that loved me once. now some time a good fancy comes in to my head that this unkindnes of your proceeds frome excesse of love but oh that good faincy is crost when I consider with what eger hast you cald my hapy rival when I denied to tel you & with what coldnes she fain'd to come but at last how you wispred then lauft, as if you had said, now we are rid of her, let us be hapy, while pore unhapy I sate reading of a play my heart was ready to brake for I was read where Massanisa come first to sophonisba\* & thought that saene so like my misary it made me ready to cry but before my hapy rival I would not show my wekness but now with Sophonisba I may cry out she thinks me fals though I have bin most true & thinking so what may her furie doe if I have said any nonsense pray forgive it for I think I am almost mad but with this prayer I leave you that in your new choise you may be hapy that she may love you as wel as I for beter I am sure

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\* Of 'Sophonisba,' a tragedy by John Marston, to which Dryden wrote a prologue, Professor Saintsbury, in his 'Short History of English Literature,' remarks: 'The subject of Sophonisba, which was particularly tempting to the more melodramatic dramatists of the seventeenth century in several countries, naturally did not tame Marston's disposition to horrors in incident, and cant in language.'



she canot so with my prayers I leave you think of your unfortunate

'MARY CLORINE.'

The next letter is an early one, and the references are interesting. It is not clear who is referred to as 'Mrs Barkly,' the young lady to whom the Princess was ashamed to write. A letter of a much later date (1678) commences, 'I never repeated writing to Mrs Barkly Hill now that I find it was a troble to you.' 'Mr Gory' is Mr Gorey, 'an old rich dancing master,' who was enlisted by Princess Anne in later years to teach the unfortunate Duke of Gloucester how to use his rickety limbs. The boy did not like him, and called him 'old dog' on one occasion when hurt by him. 'Lady' is probably Frances Villiers, the governess.

'Sunday too a Cloke.

'Becaus my dearest Aurelia comes to me onely Sundays and holy days I thought it convenient to let her know how I took her name in vain for fear that in seven days and nights I might forget it Yesterday my sister and myself both ritt to Mrs barkly in my closet in ye afternoon. while I danced with Mr Gory my sister ritt. She went to dance in hast and left her letter for me to seal so I put it in my poket while I ritt my own letter thinking to seal um both together. Mrs Jenings came in the mean time to feach the letters so for haste I called her in to seal my sisters while my closet dore was open Lady [sic] came in and was almost at the dore before I hard her so I started up run to ye dore and mett her, I had a new manto on so I asked how she liked the make. and blushed as red as fire but thank god my bake was to her that she could not see me. She ansared me that question and asked me what I was doing in my closett, I told her I had carryed Mrs Jenings in to se ye Duchises picture and that she showed me a new way of sealing a letter that I had ritt to Mrs Apsley, she said she was very ingenious and so went away for if she shoud know I ritt to Mrs Barkly she woud be more angry than she is with her if it be possible. This is a treu narrative of taking your name in vain by your constant treu wife

'MARY CLORINE.

'Oh stay dear Aurelia I'l sware I had forgot ye chife part of my letter that is to tel you I love you better then I can exprese dear dear dearest husban if you woud you shal know it agin yt I am your most dutyfull loveing wif M. C.

'pray remember me to me Lady Apsley your mother and lett her know I am very sory she is not well yett, that done to your closett bid it be sure to repeat my name in your ears every morning end every night when you have said your prayers.'

When Princess Mary was fifteen months old, a brother, Edgar Duke of Cambridge, was born; but on his death, in 1671, she once more became the heiress to the throne. Her marriage, although she was so young, became a matter of moment in national politics of the time. In Holland there was already talk of Prince William of Orange, who was then twenty-three years old; and this was known in France. The object of French diplomacy was to secure a marriage, if possible, between the Dauphin and the heiress to the throne of England. In 1675 the question of the marriage with Prince William of Orange was taken up by Danby to satisfy Parliament, and Charles II sanctioned a mission to Holland. Then followed the visit of the Prince to the English Court in the autumn of 1677. On October 18 the Prince asked Charles's consent to his marriage with the Duke of York's daughter, and the engagement was announced to a Privy Council the next day. The future bride was only told of what had been settled for her marriage on October 21 at St James's Palace; 'whereupon,' writes Lake, 'she wept all that afternoon and the following day.' The following letter may have been written at this time.

'For Mrs Apsley.

'If you do not come to me some time dear husban that I may have my bely full of discourse with you I shal take it very ile. If you can before you go to diner when you come from Mr Lily for I have a great deal to say to you concerning I do not know how now to set in the letter. if you com you will mightly oblige your faithful wife

'MARY CLORIN.

'I have wright it in such a heand that I belive you canot read it, pray burn it & send word whether you can or no by the berer.'

There are no letters that refer directly to the marriage, so that it is unnecessary to describe the wedding. The City took offence because the wedding-dresses were

ordered in Paris; and on this account it was decided that there should be no public rejoicings on the occasion. The wedding, which was celebrated on November 4, 1677, did not take place under cheerful auspices; and the commencement of the Princess's married life was far from lucky. Louis XIV was much annoyed on hearing of the betrothal, and stopped the allowance he paid to Charles. Princess Anne about this time contracted smallpox; and Mary could not be induced to leave St James's Palace. Three days after the wedding the Duchess of York gave birth to a son, who, though he only lived for ten days, must have severely ruffled William's temper during that time. The Prince and Princess of Orange left Whitehall on November 19 and made a detour by Canterbury, delaying there till the 26th; finally they sailed from Margate on the 28th and reached Holland safely. They made their state entry at the Hague on December 14, and on the 17th the following letter was written:—

‘HAUGE *December the 17.*

‘I am very much ashamed that my dearest husban should ritt to me first for tho there could not be a greater plesure in the world to me yett it was my ditty as wife to have ritt first and I hope you will be so kind to me to belive it was for want of time for you may imagin that not being well settled and haveing a great deall of company perpetually so taks up my time that I was fain to rise this morning before day to ritt some few letters of which yours was the first that was ritt I have but on thing to troble you with to remember me to your sister Apsley and lett my lady Wentworth know I woud have ritt to her my self to have thankt her for her news book but that I have not time so desire you to do it for me I am willing to ritt a littell to as many of my friands as I can therefore you will excuse me if I do not say much to you whome I love like my own life and do not thing my love is so wake that crosing the sea will put it out be but just to me and love me with all your heart and I shall ever be your kind loving wife

‘MARY CLORIN.

‘you se tho I have another husban I keep the name of my frist.’

Frances Apsley was apparently rather shy of keeping up the familiar correspondence with Princess Mary after her marriage; and among the letters from the Princess

there is a copy of one from Frances Apsley to her on the subject, which runs as follows:—

'Synce it was my hard fate to lose the greateste blessing I ever had in thys worlde which was the deare presence of my beloved wife, I have some comfort that shee is taken from mee by so worthy and so greate a prince for so hee is in the oppinion of all goode men, yr Highness has putt a harde taske uppon mee to treate you with the same familiarity as becomes a fond husband to a beloved wife hee doates uppon, whom I ought to reverence and adoare as the greatest princes now alive, when I flatter myselfe with the blessing God and yrselfe have given mee in so deare a wife I thynk what the scripture ses thatt man and wife are butt one body and then your hart is myne, and I am sure myne is yours. Butt if I behave myselfe to you as I am bound in duty to yr Highness I must aske yr pardon for my presumption, yett synce my life dependes uppon itt for I can live no longer than your favour shynes uppon mee, itt wil bee greate charity in yr Hyghness to continue your love and bounty to a husbände that admyres you and doates uppon you and an obedient servantt thatt will always serve and adoare you.'

The next letter must be later, but it was evidently written in answer to one in a similar strain to the last.

'GOEST DYCK. *Oct. 24th.*

'I have a grave ceremoniall letter from you that if anything woud make me doubt of your love it woud be that. Pray dear husban leave of your complymēt & ritt to me with the same freedom we have ever used & I hope ever shall for I do love you as much as I allways did and allways shall for no distance is capable of changing a heart so trew as mine. I was so sleepy when I ritt by Mr Santeman the night before I left the Hage that I belive you will not be able to read or find any sence in my letter, pray remember me very kindly to your mothere tell her I woud have ritt by him to & now to ansere her letter but then I was so sleepy and now am just going to catch rabbits. My whole time heer has been taken up since I am come with such sort of devertions for this place affords no other but wherever I am to you I shall be ever the same.

'remember me to your sister my lady Apsley.

'Addressed to Mrs Apsley.'

'Mr Santeman' was an apothecary, whose name was really spelt Sentiman. Charles II had a great opinion of

one of his recipes for ague. He had most likely been sent over by the King to do what he could for the Princess, who had frequent attacks of that complaint. Princess Anne called Sentiman in to give this mixture to the Duke of Gloucester, but it did not agree with him, which is not to be wondered at. 'Your sister' must be meant for 'sister-in-law,' Sir Peter Apsley's wife.

Princess Mary constantly refers to the rivalry between her sister, Princess Anne, and herself for the affections of Frances Apsley. She writes:

'DIEREN *June ye 17.*

'You have taken a way of clearing my douts dear husband wch woud make me your rivall if it wear to any but your prince Ziphares, but for him you know I have allways had a love to great to increase & to naturall not to last allways & upon so good an account to make you jealousy. but I cant tel wethere the compliments you make your Clorine at the end of your letter ar not to great to have so much credid given them but I am good natured enough to belive I have still the greatest share of your heart & do consent so dear a creature to you & who is so doble deare to me shoud have some part of it, since she has so much of mine. I hope by this time My dear Aurelia is quite well agin & that she dos me so much justice to belive my concern was equell to my love wch you know is as it ever was & tho you talk at a fine romantick way of your heart I assure you mine will ever be the same & I will hold yours as fast as ever I can for I am resolved if i can keep it I never will part with it while I live & if I dy I pretend so much power over it that I would leave it for a legacy to yours & my dear Ziphares.

'Pray remember me very kindly to your Mother and sisters.'

This is the only mention of Frances Apsley's two sisters. Lady Wentworth is mentioned more than once, but of the other sister not even her Christian name is known.

In March 1678 the Prince was called to the army owing to the investment of Namur by Louis XIV. Miss Strickland quotes from Clarendon's despatches:

'The Princess parted very unexpectedly from her husband on March 1st, 1678. He had been hunting all the morning, and as he came home to her palace at the Hague to dinner, he received letters by the way that occasioned his sudden departure, of which the Princess said she had not the slightest intimation.'

Lord Clarendon adds that there was a very tender parting at Rotterdam 'on both sides,' but he adds 'that he never saw the Prince in such high spirits or good humour.' The Princess, however, was in a different mood.

*'March the 3rd. 1678.*

'I never repeated ritting to Mrs Barkly Hill now that I find it was a troble to you I confese it was a fault to ritt to anyon and not to my dearest dearest dearest dear husban but you know that I cant have time enough in on day to ritt to all my friands tho you may be sure there is none I ritt to with more willingnes and greater plesure then I do to my dear Aurelia who I love more then she can imagin or ever will belive you know it has allways bin my choise to ritt to you when I coud have seen you and pray dont belive my mind shall change when I cant I would nott have you belive so ill of me to think where I once love any thing or anybody can ever change my mind for the picture if ther is any thing in the world can make me sitt it shall be you but you know what a pain it is however I shall since you dont like that is there and that with as mch hast as possible I can tho at this time I shoud sitt with less plesure than any othere I suppose you know the prince is gone to the Army but I am sure you can geuse at the troble I am in I am sure I coud never have thought it half so much I thought coming out of my own country parting with my friands and relations the greatest that ever coud as long as I lived hapen to me but I am to be mistaken that now I find till this time I never knew sorow for what can be more cruall in the world then parting with what on loves and nott ondly comon parting but parting so as may be never to meet again to be perpetually in fear for god knows when I may see him or wethere he is nott now at this instant in a batell I recon him now never in safety ever in danger oh miserable live that I lead now I do what I can to be mery when I am in company but when I am alone thin tis that I remember all my grifes I do nott now wish to se any friands for I shoud but be a troble to them dear Aurelia do nott take it ill with you I coud be because to you I shoud dare to spake which to angells I dare nott. forgive me that troble you with this but take it as a mark of my love for I dare ritt this to you which I hardly dare think before anothere now I am in my closet I give my self up to my grieve and mallancolly thoughts and you may belive tis a great comfort that I have a friand in the world to rit them to I hope it wont be long now before I shall go to Breda where I shall se the prince for that is so neer the Army he can live in the town and go to it

at any time at a quarter of an hour warning when I am there if I dont ritt dont wonder for may be I shant have time or twenty things may hapen however be asured of this that if I can I will you shall still heer all my misfortunes as a marke how I love you.

‘MARIE CLORINE.

‘pray remember me to Lady Apsley and Mr Edwd Apsley and my Lady Wentworth to Mrs leg you cant dout but I am very sory to hear your sister has had the mesles I hope by this time she is quite well dont say anything of all I have ritt to you for I am ashamed of it pray dont.’

Though Princess Mary ultimately died childless, there was hope during the years 1678 and 1679 of a child. On one of these occasions the next letter was written.

‘HONSLERDYCK *August the 9th*

‘I have a hundred thousand pardons to beg of my dear dear husban who if I did nott know to be very good and hope she loves me a littell still I coud nott so much as hope to be forgiven but those considerations make me tho very criminall for nott having ritt since I was well agin begin to believe that so charitable a body as your self cant know how sory I am for the faut and continue long angry but if any thing in the world can make amend for such a faut I hope trusting you with a secrett will which though in it self tis nott enough yett I tell you tis on yett I would hardly give me self leave to think on it nor no body leave to spake of it nott so much as to my self and that I have nott yett ritt the Duches word who has allways charged me to do it in all her letters it is what I am asham'd to say but seing it is to my husban I may tho I have reason to fear becaus the sea parts us you may belive it is a bastard but yett I think upon a time of need I may make you own it since tis nott out of the four seas in the mean time if you have any care of your own reputation consequently you must have of your wifes to you ought to keep this a secrett since if it shud be known you might get a pair of horns and nothing els by the bargin but dearest Aurelia you may be very well assured tho I have played the whore a littell I love you of all things in the world. tho I have spoke as you may thing in jest all this while yett for god sake if you love me dont tell it becaus I woud nott have it known yett for all the world since it cannott be above 6 or 7 weeks att most and when ever you heer of it by othere people never say that I said anything of



it to you in the mean time I beg of you to say nothing as you hope ever to be trusted anothe time'

Miss Strickland quotes a letter from the Duke of York to the Prince asking him to urge his wife 'to be more carefuller of herself' and adding 'he would write to her for the same purpose.' This is dated April 19, 1678.

There are three pictures of Princess Mary at Cirencester House, and it is clear that reference is made in these letters of the Princess to three separate times when she was painted. It is not, however, quite certain that there was not a fourth. The earliest picture is by Lely, and is referred to in the following letter.

'if I should dy I could not take my leav of you dear husband for then I shoud think you were going where I shoud never see you more and indeed I think it is almost as bad for now I shal very seldom or never see you but in a grave vissit with your mother which tho I shal be extreme glad to see her at any time yet I had rather not see her al this winter than never see my dearest Aurelia for if I see Mrs Apsley as I dont dout but I shal very often at chapel or in my one chamber some time yett I shal never think you my husband if I dont talk with you as we used to do for I love Mrs Apsley better than any woman can love a woman but I love my dear Aurelia as a wife should doe a husband nay more then is abel to be exprest my dear wil excuse me if my letter be not as it shoud be for I am in great hast to be drest for Mr liley will be here at ten of the cloke so I though unwilling mist take my leave of me dearest dearest dear and am your obedient and loving wife

'MARY CLORINE.

'I have kist this letter above forty times so bid you farewel. Hear is al I owe Mrs Apsley I think if it is not pray send me word.'

The picture at Cirencester is probably a replica of the one for which the Princess was sitting when she wrote this letter. The second picture of the Princess is by Wissing, and is referred to in the following letter:

'Loo Oct the 4th.

'I own your complaint to be just my dear Aurelia & my long silence to be without excuse & am resolved to make amends for the time to come: as for my picture Mr Wissing

is now in England so I cant give you an original but if you will have a copie he may make you one when ever you please do but give him the order & I shall take care to pay him when he sends me the picture I expect from him. pray remeber me very kindly to my Lady Apsley & tho I have not time at present to say more yet be assured I shall never alter towards you so long as I live.

'pray when you spake to Mr Wissing tell him I write by this post to the King about the Duchesses picture & my brothers.

'Addressed to The Lady Bathurst.'

Although mention has been made of the above picture as the second, it will be noticed that it is really a later one than the remaining known picture. The following letter from Princess Mary distinctly points to a picture by Gibson being painted for Frances Apsley.

'HONSLERDYKE *May the 13.*

'to my great shame I have three of your letters to ansare which I cant do in particuler every on by themselves being just com to Honslerdyke and the post redy to go away onldy this I can tell you in short which I have done a thousand times before and I hope you have no reson to belive to the contrary that tho I dont ritt often If I did every day tell you of it which I do in my mind for I think of you perpetally I will in to or three days begin to sitt for my picture for my dear husban I saw tothere day a letter you ritt to Mr Gibson and onldy take it very ill you woud not chide me for I confess I have bin much to blame and since I se you love me enough to take it ill I'll sitt for it and make Mr Gibson make all the hast he can with it that when you se itt you may think upon your pore wife that loves you with all her heart

'MARIE.

'I am very much ashamed that I have datted my Lady Apsley's letter wrong pray remeber me to your sister and my god daughter.

'To Mrs Apsley.'

The notion that there was a fourth picture of the Princess is based on a sentence which occurs in the letter dated March 3, 1678, given already. The Princess says she does not wish to sit for the picture, but that, if anybody could induce her to do so, Lady Bathurst could, adding, 'however I shall since you dont like that is there.' By

this it may be assumed that a picture had been painted for Lady Bathurst which she did not like, and that the Princess, therefore, would give her another one.

There is no exact record known of the date of the marriage of Frances Apsley to Sir Benjamin Bathurst. The probable date is 1681-2, when they would have been twenty-nine and forty-four years old respectively. Sir Benjamin had business dealings with the Duke of York, and in 1688 became Governor of the East India Company. Princess Mary wrote as follows to Lady Apsley to congratulate her on her daughter's marriage.

‘HOUNDSLERYDYCK June the 30.

‘as sone as I knew for certain dear Lady Apsley that you had married your daughter I resolved to wish you joy of it & show therby the interest I take in all that hapens to your familly I hope she will be as hapy as is possible & that you may have great sattisfaction in seeing her well disposed of as I [dont] dout but she is tho I dont know any thing of the gentleman that has her, for my own part I hope you will believe that I am very glad of any thing that I think can contribute to your contentment, & that I am and ever shall be your very affectionate friand

‘MARIE.

‘To the Lady Apsley.’

On the same day Princess Mary wrote to Frances.

‘HOUNDSLERYDYCK June the 30th.

‘to begin my letter in the forms to a new married Lady it must be with wishing you as much joy and nine months heance too boys for on is to comon a wish & I am sure mine for you are not so for you know I love you so well that I wish you all the hapyenes in this world as well as the next, but now I must chid you dear Aurelia for tho you have changed your name to all the world besids I hope you have not nor ever will to me tis very unkindly done that you have not once rit me word of this but that I must heer it from strangers first, I know tis a hard thing to say I am to be married, yet one can allways ritt more then one can say & to a friand one need semble nothing espesielly so treu a one as you have allways found me, & indeed I wont forgive it you till you rit me all the perticulers wch you are sure no body shall know for me & least you shoud dout it I again give you my word of it, adieu dear friand I shall never change nor hope you wont.

‘For the Lady Bathurst.’

The following letter is interesting from the mention of Sir Benjamin's appointment to the Household of Princess Anne, as Treasurer, and the reference to 'the plot,' which was the Rye House Plot of 1683.

'DIEREN *July the 27th.*

'I should be sory for my dear Aurelia's touth ake but that I belive tis a sign of some thing wch you woud not be sory for because I fancy you woud be very glad as you have reason to have some children to live and be a comfort for those you have lost but I need say no more of this for you know my heart & terefore may belive I wish you all things that may conduce to your hapynes from whence you may easelly infer that I am very glad that Sir Benjamin Bathurst is to be tresurer & you may belive I shall keep that as well as anything els you woud trust me with: as for your refering ye news of the plot to othere people I am very well satisfyed because the Duke is pleased to write it to me & so I am sure to know it but I allways louse of othere things that way for every body puts me off to better hands as they call it & so I heer nothing.

'Adieu dear Aurelia I am ever yours.

'For the Lady Bathurst.'

The next letter was written in 1683, very soon after the marriage of Princess Anne to Prince George of Denmark. Considerable anxiety had been caused by the attentions she had received from John Sheffield, Duke of Buckinghamshire, at that time Earl of Mulgrave. Miss Strickland says that some accuse Sarah Churchill of handing to Charles II a note to Sheffield in the Princess's handwriting; others have it that a note from him to her was seized. In consequence Lord Mulgrave was sent to Tangier, and a husband for the Princess was sought for. Prince George of Denmark had been in England in 1670, when Anne was only about five years old; and William of Orange, who was in England also, took a dislike to him then. The marriage was proposed; and Charles approved, but did not definitely consent till he had asked his brother, the Duke of York, who agreed, though somewhat in a grudging way. William of Orange was very angry, and sent Bentinck to England to try and stop it, but his efforts failed. The marriage took place at St James's Chapel on St Anne's Day, July 28, 1683, at ten o'clock amid great public rejoicing, and bell-ringing.

A month afterwards Princess Mary wrote the following letter to Lady Bathurst.

*'DIEREN August the 25.*

'I rite my last in such hast to my dear Aurelia that I had not then time to ansere that I had of yours & now I have received anothere since so that I have now to of yours to ansere the first of wch was write the day before my sister was to be married, you may belive twas no small joy to me to heer she liked him & I hope she will do so every day more & more for els I am sure cant love him & without that tis impossible to be hapy wch I wish her with all my heart as you may easly imagin knowing how much I love her. by tothere you tell me of the comitions my sister left with you wch I shoud at first have desired you to have done but that she often bid me employ her & woud have it so by all means & wch I did rathere in hopes of haveing some comition from her for there is nothing pleases me more then to be employed, but I dont heer of any yet & indeed this place afords so little of anything but what one has much better in England that I fear I shall not get any at all: adieu dear Aurelia I have this day so many letters to write that I have not time to say any more to you ondy to assure you of the continuence of my kindness wch nothing but death can ever alter—

'Pray remember me very kindly to Lady Apsley.'

Sir Allen Apsley died on October 15, 1683, at his house in St James's Square, and was buried in Westminster Abbey, near the entrance to Henry VII's Chapel. Princess Mary wrote to condole with Lady Bathurst.

'I have had to dismalle letters of late from my dear Aurelia & indeed I dont wonder at it for I fancy nothing can be more malancolly then after the hope you have had of such a fathere & of a son it may be & now to see your Mother in such a weak condition woud make any body so: but I hope in God my L Aps will quickly recover her health agin & you another great belly wch are the to greatest comforts you can have & will in time make you bear your othere losse the better I like my Bibles mightelly, but I must tell you while I think of it that I dont remember to have seen in the bills I have paid last eithere for the paper Book I had or the 5 gineys I did once allmost a year ago desire you to give to Bridget homes, I have thought of it often enough but never remember to write it you before: pray remember me very kindly to my Lady Apsley & belive me dear Aurelia ever the same to my lives end.

for the Lady Bathurst.'

Lady Apsley survived her husband fifteen years, for she died in 1698, and was buried in Westminster Abbey with her husband. Lady Bathurst lost at least two children in their infancy, of which one was a son and Princess Mary's godchild. She had, however, the satisfaction of seeing three sons grow up, and one daughter, who married Henry Pye, of Faringdon. Allen, afterwards Lord Bathurst, was born in 1684, the year after the last letter was written. Peter, of Clarendon, was born in 1687, and Benjamin, of Lydney, in 1688. Lady Bathurst's grandchildren ultimately numbered no less than sixty-four, for Allen's family amounted to eleven, Peter's to seventeen, and Benjamin's to thirty-six.

Princess Mary wrote the following sympathetic letter in 1686, when one of Lady Bathurst's children died.

*'Loo October the 31st.*

'if you did not know me very well you could have great reason to think me a strange creature for not haveing writt to you in so long time, but as it is I hope you will remember how often I am trobled with sore eys & that I am of no changable humour & then you will interpret my silence as it really is an effect of the first I thank god they have not bin so bad as thay wear the last somer, but I am sore fearfull yt thay should be so it makes me save them as much as I can, & haveing many leters of older dates then yours I was oblidged to anserre them first, I am very glad to find you had your health so well as to go to tunbridg onely for plessure, but I am sory to find by your tothere yt my Godchild is dead I am no good judg of such a losse yet I pitie you for it very much, but submiting to ye will of God as I se you do is ye onely remedy in such cases & when one considers all one has is but lent from God one can look upon ye losse as a payment wch must be made one time or anothere, & childrene who dy before thay are capable of sining are I think very hapy being onely taken out of a troblesome world wch few who know it perfectly if thay had nothing thay loved in it woud be sory to leave and if one could hinder one self seting ons heart to much upon those we love we should be the readyer to dy: I am now upon so malancolly a subject I can scarce so sone change as I wish you joy of your neices mariage wch is I hear advantageous to her, tho in one respect I should think it very much the contrary since he is of anothere religion & I think that ought ever to be the Chife concern & therefore cant chuse but wonder at such choise or how any can prefer worldly

advantages to that pray remember me kindly to your sister & wish her joy tell her I did not think she must have bin herself at the troble of making ye pincushin I shoud not have writt for ym if I had thought it remember me allso very kindly to your Mothere, & for yourself dear Aurelia belive me ever the same.

'You will think I dont intend to pay you I belive I confesse my forgetfulness is ye cause of it, but I shall give orders to have ye money returned now without more delay.'

Although Princess Mary did not know what it was to lose a child, she knew what disappointment meant in this and in many other ways, for no one can think her married life happy. The niece of Lady Bathurst's referred to was Frances Arabella, daughter of Isabella, Lady Bathurst's sister, who in 1667 had married Sir William Wentworth. The latter was an intimate friend of James II; and Lady Wentworth was bedchamber-woman to Mary, James II's Queen. When Sir William's daughter was married, in 1686, to Lord Bellew, who is described as 'an Irish Papist,' James made her a present of 3000*l*. Lord Bellew remained faithful to the King after his flight. He fought, and was severely wounded and taken prisoner at Aughrim. He died from the effects of his wounds a few months after his release.

The rest of the letters are without dates as a rule, and it is almost impossible to place them owing to the lack of news they contain. Sir Benjamin, as Treasurer to Princess Anne, was more intimately connected with her affairs than those of her sister. He took part, however, in certainly two coronations, that of James II and that of Queen Mary. In the latter ceremony, as Baron of the Cinque Ports, he 'carried the canopy over the Queen's sacred head.' He died in 1704, his wife surviving him no less than twenty-three years.

BEN BATHURST.



Art. 5.—WOODS AND FORESTS.

1. *Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons on Forestry.* (H. C. 287, 1885 ; 202, 1886 ; 246, 1887.)
2. *Report of the Departmental Committee on British Forestry.* (Cd 1319, 1906.)
3. *Report of the Departmental Committee (Ireland) on Irish Forestry.* (Cd 4207 and 4208, 1908.)
4. *Report of the Royal Commission on Coast Erosion and Afforestation.* (Cd 4460, 1909.)
5. *Sylva, or a Discourse of Forest Trees.* By John Evelyn, F.R.S. With an essay on the Life and Work of the author, by John Nisbet. London : Doubleday, 1908.  
And other works.

'MEN are more studious to cut down than to plant trees,' has been a commonplace in every country since the middle of the sixteenth century ; and the United Kingdom affords a notable example of *laissez faire* in the art of sylviculture. Brief periods of activity have been followed by generations of neglect and a reckless waste of timber. During the Civil Wars the process of destruction was especially marked. After the Restoration great difficulty was experienced in obtaining wood for naval purposes ; and in their anxiety the Admiralty propounded certain queries to the Royal Society, who gave them to John Evelyn to answer. To him, more than to anyone else, was due the revival of the spirit of planting. On October 15, 1662, he delivered his famous 'Discourse on Forest Trees' before the Royal Society, this being the first paper published by them ; the views put forward were subsequently expanded and embodied in the volume entitled 'Sylva' in 1664, a new edition of which was opportunely published by Dr J. Nisbet in 1908. Evelyn's appeal met with instantaneous success, and he was justified, when dedicating the volume to the King, in stating that 'many millions of timber trees have been propagated and planted at the instigation and by the sole direction of this work.' Amongst other results for which he was directly responsible were the planting of the lime-trees in St James's Park, and the grand Elm Avenue in Windsor Great Park. Although his authority

on arboriculture was greater than on silviculture, the advice given in 'Sylva' remains of permanent interest.

Subsequently efforts to stimulate afforestation were made by the Society of Arts in the middle of the eighteenth century by the offer of premiums to those who planted most effectually, but the results were disappointing. At the end of that century the Land Commissioners declared, after a prolonged enquiry, that 'this country would in all probability experience fatal want of timber and would become dependent on other Powers for the means of supporting the Navy.' This prediction has to some extent been falsified by the modern construction of ships; but many of their recommendations are still of importance to-day. Recognising that in the case of timber no profit is likely to accrue during the life of the planter, the Commissioners advocated State afforestation, to prevent the initial expenses from acting as a deterrent. They further advised a thorough investigation of our timber resources. Even yet there has been no such investigation; and no report upon the subject would be complete without official statistics from Canada and other countries from which we import timber.

Matters generally were allowed to drift until about twenty-five years ago, when a Select Committee of the House of Commons, which sat from 1885 to 1887, was appointed to consider means by which the growing scarcity in the supply of home-grown timber might be reduced or arrested. They saw how much the management of our woodlands might be improved, and were of opinion that, even as regards those belonging to the State, 'the difference between skilled and unskilled labour would itself more than repay the cost of a forest school.' They were, moreover, in favour of the appointment of a Board of Forestry. The recommendations of the Committee, however, bore little fruit.

This Committee was followed by a Departmental one, appointed by the Board of Agriculture in 1902, which endorsed the views of the Select Committee. They considered that its recommendations had resulted in the adoption of more methodical treatment of forests in a few cases, and a wider appreciation of the advantages of close canopy, clean home-grown timber, and heavy crops; but that, on the whole, there had probably

been a further reduction in the already inadequate stock of timber. They recommended that two areas, one in England and the other in Scotland, should be acquired for practical demonstrations. Each area should comprise not less than 2000 and not more than 10,000 acres; and they suggested that the Alice Holt Woods in Hampshire might be made available at once. Special stress was laid upon the necessity for additional educational facilities for all concerned with the ownership or management of forests. The Committee condemned the inequality shown to exist in the Estate Duty levied on timber, and recommended a complete investigation of existing woodlands and of land suitable for afforestation. The attention of corporations and municipalities, moreover, was drawn to the desirability of planting trees on the catchment areas of their water-supplies.

Particular interest attaches to the Report of the Committee appointed by the Department of Agriculture in Ireland in 1907. Although Ireland has a vast area suitable for growing timber, down to that year it possessed fewer trees than any European country except Iceland. The Committee found that the existing supply of timber was being wastefully diminished under the indirect influence of the Land Purchase Acts, since those Acts place no obligation on purchasers in respect of existing woods. At the same time they considered that the Acts presented an exceptional opportunity for acquiring land suitable for forestry. They estimated that at least 1,000,000 acres of woodland were essential, of which 300,000 acres would consist of existing woodlands, 200,000 of plantable land in large quantities, and 500,000 in smaller quantities. The management of large lands acquired under the scheme should be directly under the central authority, while the smaller woods could be more economically managed by the County Councils. Effective provisions for the training of working foresters and woodmen had already been made at the forestry station at Avondale, formerly the property of Mr C. S. Parnell, and partial provision for higher training at the Royal College of Science, Dublin. The necessity, however, for extending this provision was asserted.

The commercial success of the scheme depended on the proper organisation of the timber trade and the

establishment of a thorough system of business management, towards both of which objects the Department could render material assistance. The net expenses of carrying out a national system of afforestation were estimated to amount to 2,855,500*l.* at the expiration of fifty years. The scheme would then provide a surplus over purchase annuities, working and administrative expenses, eventually yielding a return of  $4\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. on the total capital invested. Most of the initial outlay might be defrayed by utilising the proceeds of the Irish Quit and Crown rents. The rest might be provided by an annual parliamentary grant of 13,600*l.* for the first fifty years, and one of 8600*l.* for the sixth decade, after which profits would begin to accrue.

The Department at once acquired through the Estate Commissioners additional woods at Dundrum, County Tipperary, and at Camolin, County Wexford, on estates sold under the Irish Lands Act of 1903, to afford opportunities for the instruction of apprentice foresters in their first year, before proceeding to Avondale. On the application of owners the Department's forestry expert carried out a number of inspections of woods, and of lands intended for planting, and advised as to their treatment. An experiment in County Kildare for the preservation and development of certain woods, presented to the County Council by the Trustees of the Duke of Leinster, was sanctioned. The station at Avondale contains about 480 species of trees and shrubs, including 65 new species which were added in 1909. A museum of forestry timber and other forestry specimens has now been added. As a result of the Committee's Report a sum of 6000*l.* was provided in the estimates for the financial year 1909-10, to enable the Department to purchase suitable areas under the Land Purchase Acts. An area of 1300 acres has been acquired at Aghrane, County Galway; and negotiations have been opened for the purchase, through the Estates Commissioners, of a number of other suitable areas. About 25 acres of the land at Dundrum were planted in 1909, and a similar area will be dealt with in the present planting season. A saw-mill has been erected there, and is used for sawing timber to meet local requirements. The apprentices engage in all the operations for the development of the

woods, and receive class-room instruction in elementary forestry and kindred subjects after working hours. At Camolin about 25 acres are being planted with larch and Douglas fir. A scheme similar to the one adopted by the Kildare County Council has been approved for County West Meath, where the County Council have already purchased two small areas.

The Report of the Royal Commission on Coast Erosion appointed in 1906 has been subjected to so much criticism that it calls for no lengthy consideration here. That Commission was originally appointed to consider what measures might be taken to prevent the damage caused by the encroachment of the sea on various parts of the coast in the United Kingdom. Since this enquiry necessarily involved the consideration of the extent to which afforestation might be used to diminish coast erosion, its reference was extended in 1908 to an enquiry as to the desirability of making an experiment in afforestation as a means of increasing employment during periods of depression in the labour market. The combination of two distinct enquiries proved disastrous. The whole of the recommendations of the Commission are vitiated by a desire to provide employment for those out of work, whereas any successful scheme of afforestation must be based solely upon a consideration of national policy and upon business principles.

The attention of the Commissioners appears to have been directed solely to a social problem, which probably accounts for the extravagance and impracticability of many of their proposals; without entering into details, they suggest the afforestation of an area of 9,000,000 acres, to provide 9,000,000 tons of timber, the quantity annually imported of late years. The present imports are very unlikely to fall away altogether; there may be a serious reduction in the importation of timber of the larger sizes and better quality, owing to the gradual diminution of such timber in foreign countries; but the smaller sizes will in all probability continue to be imported, and the afforestation of 5,000,000 or 6,000,000 acres would suffice. The estimated cost of 2,000,000*l.* a year is enough to alarm any Chancellor of the Exchequer, even such a one as Mr Lloyd George. A period of probation is

necessary before an experiment on so gigantic a scale can be attempted with any hope of success; nor does the Commission really throw any light upon the question of unemployment, so far as the congestion in cities is concerned. It is absurd to say that there is no chance of getting afforestation adopted in a Government programme, unless it should happen to be connected with unemployment. Men inured to city life are as a rule physically unfit even to undertake the labour of the initial stages of afforestation. Some of them, if carefully selected, and accustomed to use a spade or shovel, might be employed in clearing the land and making roads; but digging pits for the trees and the actual planting require considerable skill. The views of the Irish Forestry Committee may be quoted here:—

‘The question of promoting forestry, as one of the means of dealing with what is called the problem of unemployment, having been brought to our notice, we think it right to state our opinion on this question. It is, emphatically, that forestry cannot be considered as a specific for curing the evil which is commonly understood when this problem is spoken of—that of chronic disemployment, especially in large cities, of large numbers of people belonging to different trades or callings. That the promotion of forestry on an adequate scale will provide a great deal of employment is unquestionable, and that is one of its principal advantages to a country. But such employment would be employment naturally forthcoming from the plantations and woods for the agricultural population in their vicinity, and it would be employment for an industrial population, more or less rural, forthcoming from the industries and commerce which may be developed in connexion with the conversion and handling of the forest produce. This sort of employment cannot be provided on a large scale at once. It must be developed with steadiness and system, and above all it must be on sound economic lines.’

The Commissioners themselves admit that ‘irrefutable evidence was put before them that a considerable portion of the unemployed are for some reason or another unfit to undertake the work required.’ In any case, those of them to be occupied even in the simplest operations ought to be carefully graded; and the number of men who might be so employed is quite negligible in relation to the volume of unemployment. Opinions differ widely

as to the advisability of engaging any unemployed townsmen. On two occasions when Mr Elwes, F.R.S., of Colesbourne, who has planted over a million trees on his own land during the past thirty years, tried men from the ranks of the unemployed, he states that he had good reason to repent it; his planting is now mostly done by old soldiers and reserve men who are natives of the parish. A year or two ago the Glasgow Corporation bought a farm of 7000 acres at Cumbernauld, and have employed hundreds of men out of work; but it was found that for every pound paid in wages, the amount obtained in return was only 2s. 5½d.; it is true that this was partially attributed to the expense of conveying the men to and from the work. The chief assistant engineer of the Mersey Dock estate says that he would not make use of the unemployed in any circumstances. Sir Bosdin Leach, referring to Manchester, admitted that a few men might be employed, but said that 'the great majority who go to our Labour Bureau to get help would be totally unsuited for the work of forestry.' Mr Lees, Secretary to the Birmingham Water Department, said that they had put certain inexperienced men to afforestation work, and that amongst young trees 'they had done a great deal of harm'; while Mr Henzel, who has had some success with selected unemployed labour, 'intends in future to procure skilled men only.' As responsible for the afforestation carried out by the Leeds Corporation, he found that a large proportion of the unemployed were utterly incapable of doing the work. It is too exacting; many of the men, too, treated their labour with the saplings as a prolonged holiday, and, like many other holiday-makers, destroyed a great many shrubs. A further difficulty in connexion with the employment of urban labour arises from the cost of transferring labourers to, and housing them in, the selected areas, which are likely to be remote from populous centres. The Report cursorily dismisses this question in a few sentences; nor can we gather from it any idea of the cost of employing skilled as compared with unskilled labour.

Some evidence, on the other hand, was forthcoming in favour of the urban unemployed. The best instance perhaps is that of the Midland Re-afforestation Associa-



tion, which employs unskilled labour, the men being simply taken in alphabetical order, for work on the mounds of derelict coal-mines; and the results are said to be extremely satisfactory. In connection with the Liverpool Waterworks at Lake Vyrnwy a certain number of the unemployed are engaged, but they are apparently drawn mainly from the rural districts; and the forestry operations do not prevent the farmers from obtaining the labour that they require at busy seasons. The case is much the same on the catchment area at Thirlmere. It is rather in keeping men on the land, than in drawing them from the towns, that afforestation may relieve unemployment. The work of planting from October to March would afford remunerative work to small holders and labourers at a time when other work on the land is more or less at a standstill.

The proposals of the Commission of 1906 have really damaged the cause of afforestation, because of the loose finance embodied in them; the practical point is to prove that the planting of coniferous timber will pay the State. Scotch fir, spruce, and larch may be profitably grown in Scotland; but whether it would pay the Crown to plant them in England has yet to be determined. Dr Nisbet has conclusively shown that the actuarial calculations of the Commission have no practical value, for they deal with conditions in timber crops which do not exist. The main difficulty in any great national scheme is to find the money. Abundant land may be had, but the great expense and slow returns are inconvenient to the majority of land proprietors. The expense of planting is immediate and certain, the profit distant and precarious, as was pointed out long ago in the 'Quarterly Review' (vol. x., 1813). The Commissioners seem to have based their figures upon Prussian experience, which has little bearing upon the subject, for the cost of transit by rail in that country is one-fifth of what it is here. The value of the timber, also, is calculated upon present prices, whereas it is impossible to foretell its future value, whether the rotation be one of forty or eighty years. The most effective comments upon the cost involved in the utilisation of unemployed labour, and the risks which may be anticipated, if the forest areas of the United Kingdom be extended, from fire, pests, snowstorms, gales, etc., may

be read in Mr A. Stanley Wilson's reservation appended to his signature of the Report.

Notwithstanding the extravagantly optimistic views of the Commissioners, and the depressing effect of the criticism to which they have been subjected, there is an undoubted public demand for some more moderate scheme of afforestation. The position in the United Kingdom is undoubtedly critical. Relatively speaking, there is a smaller area of land under trees than in any country in Europe; we are almost entirely dependent on foreign supplies of timber for structural purposes. In 1909 we imported unmanufactured timber, i.e. (1) hewn, (2) sawn or split, (3) staves, and (4) furniture woods and hardwood, to the value of more than 23,000,000*l*. The principal item in this total is that of sawn or split wood, which amounted last year to over 5,700,000 loads valued at nearly 15,500,000*l*., consisting mainly of fir from Russia, Sweden, Canada, the United States and Norway. The imports of hewn wood and timber amounted to more than 3,400,000 loads of the value of nearly 5,800,000*l*., of which two-thirds were pit-wood or props, largely from Russia and France. More than two-thirds of the 156,540 loads of oak imported came from the United States.\* The climate of these countries is not dissimilar from that of the United Kingdom; and there is no reason why we should not ourselves gradually produce a large proportion of what we now import. Unfortunately the timber that we are producing at present is not of the highest quality. Our woodlands, as a rule, are too open, and the ground is insufficiently planted; the result is (1) that the trees carry excessively long and strong branches through not being killed off by shade in the early stages of their growth, and since each branch becomes a knot, our timber is full of these defects; (2) the trees grow too fast, and the rings are abnormally broad. About 77 per cent. of our imports consists of coniferous trees grown in dense natural forests; consequently it is superior in quality to the home-grown timber.

We have to recognise, also, a deficiency in the supply

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\* Board of Agriculture Statistics, Cd 5268, 1910.

of timber throughout the world, and the consequent rise in price. It is estimated by the U.S. Department of Agriculture that the consumption of timber there is now three times the annual increase of their forests. Mr Roosevelt warned the people that 'already the limit of unsettled land is in sight. We began with an unapproached heritage of forests. More than half of the timber has gone.' Again, when speaking at a Forest Congress held at Washington in 1905, he said, 'It is as sure as anything can be that we will see in the future a steadily increasing demand for wood in our manufacturing districts.' The United States are likely to draw more and more upon the fir forests of Canada, which will make it more difficult for England to find high-class timber for her requirements.

Every country is discovering the importance of protecting her existing forests from undue depletion, and of afforesting new areas. In the United States, for instance, the Bureau of Forestry co-operates with the Federal Government, with several States, and with many private owners in handling their forest lands. Down to 1901 its assistance had been asked for a total area of 52,107,036 acres; in 1906 the Government purchased from the Blackfeet Indians of Montana an area of 615,500 acres, which in the following year became part of the Flathead Forest Reserve. Many similar reserves exist in different parts of the States; and an area of 9,600,000 acres in the Appalachian region has been taken over by the Government. The object throughout is to maintain the greatly impaired supply of timber, to promote the study of economic tree-planting, and to co-operate with farmers and others in making forest plantations. The work of the Bureau really dates from 1817, when an Act empowered the Secretary of the Navy to reserve from any future sale tracts of land suitable for producing oaks and red cedar; but it was not until 1891 that an Act was passed definitely authorising the establishment of forest reservations; and by 1897 an estimated area of 46,410,000 acres had been reserved.

Prohibition of deforestation is the rule in Bavaria, Württemberg, Baden, Austria and Russia. There is, however, nowhere any absolute prohibition. The cases in which it is permitted are (a) when an area of similar

character is elsewhere appropriated to the growth of trees, and (b) where the area is small or where it is to be used for the rectification of boundaries. Sir William Schlich states that in Sweden, during the last few years, the actual cutting exceeded the growth by 103,000,000 cubic feet of timber, and that an export duty is now levied on sawn timber. In the north of that country the cutting down of timber under a certain size is prohibited; and for some ten years the owners of woodlands where lumbering has taken place are bound to provide for re-planting, in such a way as to secure the continuance of the woodlands, failing which the Government do it at the owner's expense. In New Zealand the forests have been reduced from 30,000,000 to 17,000,000 acres during the last sixty years.

In waste lands, consisting of marsh or heather, afforestation has proved of the utmost value. In his 'Travels in France,' published in 1787, Arthur Young describes the district of La Sologne, which lies between Bourges and La Loge, as one of the most wretched tracts of land he had ever seen. He exclaims: 'Heaven grant me patience while I see a country thus neglected, and forgive me the oaths I swear at the absence and ignorance of the possessors.' He saw at once that the whole district was improvable. The necessary improvements were subsequently made by draining and afforestation; and the secretary of the Comité de la Sologne at Orléans told me that it was now one of the most sought-after districts in France, both for residence and sport. Similarly, in the north of Holland, a tract of originally worthless land, comprising 10,000 acres and consisting solely of heath and sand, has been effectually reclaimed by an association which commenced its operations in 1816, and adopted for its motto: 'Help the poor, and improve the land.' To-day in that district one may traverse miles and miles of forest; and the land has been brought into a condition of high fertility. It is used as a labour colony, and affords perhaps the best illustration of such an institution.

In other parts of Europe societies for the promotion of moor cultivation have been established, notably in Germany, when Herr Rimpau in 1862 introduced his system of cultivating peat land by the use of a surface

covering of sand. In 1876 an experimental station was established at Bremen to work out the manifold theoretical and practical problems connected with the rational cultivation of moorland. Bavaria possesses an average of 360,000 acres of moorland, and has four experimental stations and sub-stations in different parts of the country, entailing in 1907 an expenditure of 8200*l.*, of which 5800*l.* came from State sources. The Danish Heath Society was formed in 1866 to encourage the cultivation of the heaths in Denmark, covering about 159,000 acres. Its functions consist of afforestation where the land is poor, the drainage of marshes and irrigation of dry meadows, the supply of marl and lime, the distribution of young trees, and the creation of shelter belts. Grants amounting to one-third of the expenditure on young trees, implements, fences, roads, clearing and drainage, are made by the State. The system adopted has been the establishment of demonstration-fields about two and a half acres in extent, and situated in some easily accessible spot. The labour is provided by the owner of the land, while the Society supplies artificial manures for from three to five years, and also seed. An annual inspection of the land is held, to which everyone in the neighbourhood is invited. In addition to 500 demonstration-fields, the Society owns three experimental farms of 168, 841, and 175 acres respectively, for which the State makes a small annual grant. In Sweden, during the ten years 1889-99, nearly 900,000 acres of moorland were brought under cultivation. What is being done in these countries furnishes an excellent example of what might be attempted gradually in Great Britain, where the total area of mountain and heath-land used for grazing is returned at 12,801,000 acres, of which 3,537,172 are 1500 feet above sea-level, and, therefore, unsuitable for planting.

Three main obstacles are likely to operate against any extensive scheme. First of all, compulsory powers of acquiring suitable land are required where negotiation fails. It is true that compulsory purchase is exemplified in the Small Holdings and Allotments Act, and in the Army Act; but those Acts do not contemplate the complete expropriation of private owners. The Commissioners of 1906, moreover, suggest that under no circumstances should the State be expected to finance private schemes

of afforestation by way of loan or otherwise. The goodwill and co-operation, however, of landowners is essential if the proposals of the Commission are to be realised.

The scheme, drawn up by Lord Lovat, of co-partnership between the State and the private owner of the land has much to recommend it. His suggestion is that the owner should provide the land free of cost; that the State should provide the capital necessary to its afforestation; and that the profits of the undertaking should be shared by both in proportion to their respective contributions. This does not materially differ from the *métayer* system, which is common in many parts of France, or from the views of Sir W. Schlich, who suggests the following methods for carrying out a wide scheme of afforestation: (a) private owners to afforest their surplus land, and, in the case of those in want of pecuniary assistance, advances to be made by the Government at cost-price on proper security; (b) joint action by the proprietor and the State, the former contributing the land, the latter the funds for planting and administration, etc., in which case it is essential for the State to keep the management entirely in its own hands, the net receipts being divided in the proportion of the capital contributed by each party; or (c) the State might acquire the land and bring it under forests. If the now existing heavy burdens were lightened, there is every probability of private proprietors participating on a liberal scale, rather than have their land taken away from them; and this would considerably reduce the outlay proposed.

Secondly, the inevitable displacement of farmers now in occupation of land, and of their stock, is a question which the Commissioners briefly refer to by admitting that it would 'necessitate a modification of the existing system on certain farms,' which means that hundreds of farmers might be ruined. Many farms consist of three sections: (1) water-meadows near the farm; (2) the middle lands for wheat, hay, etc., or pasture; (3) the upper lands for the feeding of sheep during the warmer months. To take away one of these sections would destroy the whole economy of the farm. The effect upon the food-supplies, moreover, cannot be ignored. In the consumption of meat, mutton probably holds the first place. The Commissioners believe that the production

of fifteen pounds of mutton per acre per annum is the most that can be expected on grass-land situated at an elevation that permits of the profitable growth of trees. A Committee of the Royal Statistical Society reported that, on the average of five years ending May 31, 1903, the annual production and importation of meat amounted to 2,247,091 tons, of which 1,245,920 tons were home-grown and 1,001,171 tons, after allowing for re-exports, were imported. In 1909 the total imports of mutton were larger than in any previous year, although only 8131 live sheep of the estimated value of 12,923*l.* were imported. The Commissioners declined to estimate what the supplies of meat may be on the average during the next sixty years; but, on the basis of present supplies, they anticipate that, if 9,000,000 acres were afforested within that period, it would involve the displacement of meat to the amount of 60,000 tons per annum, the value of which may be roughly put at £3,000,000. A calculation of their figures for eighty years shows that the total loss to the country in the production of mutton alone would, at compound interest, nearly equal the National Debt. To exchange the certain income accruing from breeding sheep for the problematical income accruing from the growth of timber will meet with the opposition of every farmer.

A third objection arises from the interference with sport. It must be remembered that in the United Kingdom game is an asset of increasing value, and that sport brings a large sum of money annually to the country. The presence of game enhances the rental value of every estate; this is especially the case where grouse-shooting and deer-stalking are obtainable; but the Commissioners propose that 6,000,000 acres of land in Scotland should be afforested. Of this total more than 3,000,000 acres consist of deer-forest, of which about half will grow trees of a sort, and the rest is above the tree-planting altitude. If we assume that 1,500,000 acres of deer-ground are planted with trees, this leaves 4,500,000 acres of grouse-moors, where land is valued at 2*s.* per acre for sheep *plus* 3*s.* for grouse. According to the Commissioners' Report, 3*s.* 9*d.* only would be obtainable from timber, instead of the present 5*s.*, or even 12*s.*, for the best grouse-moors may sometimes be let for 10*s.*



an acre. It is admitted that for the first forty years the thinnings cannot possibly cover the cost of the proposed forests, especially if the large and progressive increase in the number of foreman-planters and labourers that would be required, be taken into account. No provision for the payment of the wages of these men is made in the suggested scheme. The present system of planting by private owners gets rid of this annual outlay by the sale of game to at least the value of the woodmen's wages. The policy advocated would destroy the rents now obtainable and entail lower interest upon capital invested in the land, as well as increased taxation. Game would disappear, for the presence of the woodmen would drive the deer and grouse away from the localities fitted for them by nature. It may also be mentioned that partridges and pheasants do no harm whatever to young plantations. Their chief enemies are rabbits, which in some places have been allowed to multiply unduly.

It is to be regretted that the Commission did not consider the question of estate *versus* State forestry; this is the more extraordinary because most of their arguments for afforestation are based on Continental forestry, where a large proportion of the forests belong to private owners and not to the State. In France, for instance, the State owns 11.1 per cent. of the forests, in Germany 32.9, in Hungary 16, in Sweden 19.9, in Norway 12.5, and in Austria 6.5. Many forests also belong to municipalities, communes, churches, and other societies; but the majority of the forests in these countries are privately owned. The following points affecting State forestry ought to have been considered, as was pointed out by Mr Duchesne in 'The Field' of April 10, 1909.

(1) Private owners have greater facilities for ascertaining local experience, conditions, soil and difficulties. (2) Thousands of acres of existing woodlands would be planted on up-to-date silvicultural lines, if only proper encouragement were given by the State. (Landowners who have not the necessary capital are already able to obtain loans for farm-buildings and drainage through the Board of Agriculture, and to create rent-charges for the repayment of such loans within a certain time. Why should not a similar method be adopted for borrowing the cost of planting and fencing up to 6*l.* an acre from the

Development Commissioners on the security of the crop, the repayment being deferred until the crop becomes remunerative?) (3) In estate forestry, small areas, according to the soil and other conditions, could be taken in hand. The distribution of areas would minimise the risk of planting unsuitable trees on unsuitable soil. Existing parish roads could probably be utilised, whereas the cost and upkeep of roads on mountain and heath-land will prove a serious item. (4) The areas, on estates to be dealt with, would be in close proximity to towns and inhabited districts; consequently there would be far less difficulty in housing the required labourers. (5) The areas to be afforested would be in greater proximity to land suitable for small holdings. Small holdings adjoining mountain and heath-land are not likely to be very numerous. (6) Ash and other hard woods could be grown in such areas in addition to conifers, whereas the areas suggested in the Report are almost exclusively confined to growing coniferous timber. (7) There would be a local market in each district for top-wood and faggots. (8) Plantations and woods often mean a permanent improvement of the estate, apart from any question of planting timber for profit. (9) The thinnings of the plantations would have a special value for repairs on the estate. (10) The plantations would be valuable for shelter.

Proper account has not been taken of the many estates which have for generations been managed on true sylvicultural principles. No mention, for instance, is made of the Earl of Yarborough's estate, on which, since 1787, the average annual planting has been nearly 200,000 trees, raised mainly in the home nurseries and pinetum.

The effect of the proposed scheme on the timber trade has to be considered. The uses of wood have rapidly grown, and are likely to continue to grow; great quantities are absorbed by the paper industry alone, and our annual imports of wood-pulp are now worth 3,500,000*l.* a year. Last year, moreover, we imported manufactures of wood alone to the value of 2,054,258*l.* The price of timber is steadily rising, and in general its quality is inferior to what was imported twenty years ago. In the opinion of auctioneers the value of an estate is enhanced by reason of the foresters' work, or by reason of the trees

placed upon the land. In some sales of timber brown oak may fetch over 8s. a foot, sycamore for mill-rollers about 5s. a foot, and willows for cricket-bats from 5s. to 8s. a foot. The internal trade, however, in timber is seriously hampered by railway rates, in respect of which there is an average charge of nearly 60,000,000*l.* a year. It is estimated that fully twenty-five per cent. of this is of the nature of differential import and export duties, operating to the disadvantage of British commerce. At a conference convened by the Royal English Arboricultural Society and the Timber Trades Federation a resolution was passed that the rates and arrangements applicable to the carriage of timber should be the same for native as for foreign timber. The difficulty, of course, in regulating rates for British-grown timber lies in the irregularity of its supply. If a forest were like a coal-mine, railways could afford to treat home-grown as they do foreign timber, which arrives from year to year in substantially the same quantities at stated intervals, while the port of arrival and the destination are seldom changed.

Any comparison between afforestation in the United Kingdom and abroad is liable to error, owing to the differences in climatic, physical, and economic conditions; but much may be learnt from foreign legislation on the subject and from the management of forests in other countries. In Germany scientific afforestation has been practised for over a hundred years; the result is that tens of thousands of mills and factories and hundreds of thousands of men are engaged in subsidiary industries which owe their existence to that scientific forestry. The German Empire has 34,000,000 acres of forest, the return from which amounts to between 12,000,000*l.* and 15,000,000*l.* a year, while the amount of timber produced approaches in quantity the amount which we have to import. This great production of timber means not merely employment in planting, thinning, fencing, and felling, but also in saw-mills, pump-mills, tanning yards, chair and toy factories. In Prussia afforestation is undertaken by (a) private proprietors, (b) co-operative bodies, and (c) by the State. The State has for long paid from half to two-thirds of the cost of cultivation (the average during recent years being 12*s.* per acre) in districts where the afforestation of

private or communal lands is especially desirable. With such assistance over 27,000 acres were afforested in Prussia between 1882 and 1899 at a cost of 55,500*l*. About one million young forest trees are annually distributed gratis or at low prices. In many parts of the German Empire special credit or agricultural banks, possessing a State character, have been founded to encourage the cultivation of the soil, which includes the afforestation of waste lands. The loans are issued at from 3½ per cent. to 4½ per cent. interest. The principle of administrative legislation dealing with forests managed by private individuals is to allow the owner an entirely free hand unless the public interest necessitates restrictions in the management of the woods in cases where they are 'protective.' Woods are said to be protective when, from their situation and the nature of the land covered by them, they are of service to the cultivation of the soil. This consists mainly in binding the soil, especially on light land, where it has a tendency to drift, while on mountains and hills the woods prevent torrential floods from washing it away.

In Baden all new woodlands are exempt from taxation for twenty years. In France plantations on slopes of mountains and on dunes or heaths are exempt for thirty years. Hungary admits a reduction of taxation on all forests managed on proper lines. Almost every European country has seed-stations; and various means are adopted for the encouragement of afforestation, the State usually bearing a portion of the cost. Wisely the State does not contribute more than 70 per cent. at the most; but a contribution of not less than about 50 per cent. is generally regarded as advisable to promote afforestation by private individuals, societies, and communes. In Italy last year the Minister of Education drew the attention of schoolmasters and prefects to the desirability of celebrating 'a new Festival of the Trees,' promising plants, pecuniary aid, and prizes for those who undertook it. In Switzerland, Hungary, and Italy the afforestation of new areas is governed by laws dealing with 'protective' woods based on an experience of many centuries, and with the regulation of torrents. Various precautions are taken in different countries to prevent careless or injurious management. Regulations are made against (a) the irrational utilisation of woods by over-thinning or the

felling of too young trees, and (b) diminution of the productive capacity of the soil by incomplete withdrawal of litter, or by neglect to restock denuded areas. The Prussian Government recently withheld its afforestation subsidy in a certain case because the owner refused to comply with the condition that the woods in receipt of a grant must be subject to the supervision of the State.

In the United Kingdom several interesting experiments in afforestation have already been made. Perhaps the most important is that at Inverliever in Argyllshire; the estate comprises about 12,530 acres, at an elevation between 120 and 1,400 feet above sea-level, and was purchased by the Commissioners of His Majesty's Woods and Forests at a cost of 25,000*l.*, that is, rather less than 2*l.* an acre. It is used for the purpose of carrying out a scheme of afforestation on scientific and economic lines. In 1909 a block of about 400 acres was enclosed with a sheep and cattle fence; the draining of the area to be planted during the year was completed; and the bracken was cut down, some portions, on which the bracken growth was very vigorous, having to be cut twice and even three times. Notwithstanding the severe winter and the consequent lateness in planting, by the end of May 1910 about 190 acres were planted with 171,000 larch, 120,000 Scotch pine, 283,000 spruce, 45,000 silver fir, 35,000 Douglas fir, and 20,000 Sitka spruce. Of these, 590,000 plants were purchased, and the balance was taken from the nursery at Ford in the same county. At the nursery another part was taken in hand, cultivated, cleared of large stones, and partially cleaned. The following seedlings were purchased, and have been lined out: 90,000 larch, 200,000 Scotch pine, 200,000 spruce, 20,000 Sitka spruce, 10,000 Douglas fir, and 10,000 silver fir. They are said to be looking fairly well. At the request of the West of Scotland Agricultural College, four experimental plots, each divided into six sections containing different species, have been set apart and treated with different artificial manures, to test their effects upon growth.

Another valuable experiment has been carried on since 1903 by Dr Somerville, Professor of Rural Economy at Oxford, on the Weald clay which is found in the western parts of Surrey and Sussex. When he commenced operations he could find no person from

whom to gain information as to methods of planting and species of tree to cultivate. The oak is obviously the tree most suitable to the conditions; but his object was to show how plantations could be established on strong clay land in a dry district. Describing his experience down to January 1909, he states that the difference in the success of the trees where the weeds were carefully kept down, and where the grass had been allowed to grow up, was very striking. In the former case the annual shoot was about six or eight times as long as in the latter, where the annual growth has been only a few inches. All species, however, do not appear to have suffered from the grass to an equal extent. Larch (both common and Japanese) and Corsican pine have grown well, whereas poplars, *Thuja plicata* (*gigantea*), *Picea pungens*, Douglas fir, ash, and in fact most species, thrive very badly under such conditions. The ash reflects the difference in treatment very markedly; on the unhoed ground it did not make more than six inches of growth in five years, whereas with the surface kept stirred, annual shoots of three feet or more are the rule. The cost of hoeing, whether by horse or hand, amounted roughly to 12s. 6d. per acre per annum; and the expenditure seems to have been well repaid.

Dr Somerville recommends that, in the spring of the fourth year, a shallow rut should be drawn, by means of a pointed stake, between the rows of trees, and that six pounds of broom seed be sown; he used both common and Spanish broom for the purpose; the latter grows much the faster, but it is not so bushy. The introduction of these dwarf plants between the rows of trees smothers the weeds and makes the wood thick and dense as soon as possible. Moreover, from the point of view of game, the broom has obvious advantages; with its long tap-root, too, it penetrates deep into the soil, and so ensures good drainage, while the nitrogen that it collects from the air, and the humus that it forms, cannot fail to react beneficially upon the trees. With a start of three years, there is little danger of the trees being overtopped. Full particulars of Dr Somerville's experiments with other trees, and the simplest method of securing a moderate top shade over young trees, may be read in the 'Quarterly Journal of Forestry' for January 1909.

One of the greatest difficulties with which foresters in Great Britain are faced is the lack of data on which to base calculations as to expenditure and profits. Fortunately, such details may be obtained in connexion with the Coombe Plantation, which is the property of Mr R. D. Marshall.\* The plantation is situated on the north side of the Whinlatter Pass, about three and a half miles from Keswick, and lies for the most part between the 900 feet and 1500 feet contour lines. The total area is 198 acres. The planting was begun in 1848, when Mr Marshall was a boy, and in 1903 the work of clear-cutting was begun. During these fifty-five years he kept close accounts of all costs and of all returns, and, further, in 1873 picked out experimental groups of trees, of which he periodically measured the girths. The value of the statistics thus made available cannot be over-estimated.

For those who will be engaged in the higher branches of forestry the facilities for instruction may now be considered adequate. Since the University of Oxford undertook the training of Indian forest students, which had previously been conducted at Cooper's Hill, the School of Forestry there has been an unqualified success. By the generosity of St John's College, Bagley Woods have been placed at the service of the school for the purpose of experiment and demonstration. The same College recently provided permanent buildings for the use of the school. At Cambridge also there is now an energetic Forestry Committee. At eight of the advanced agricultural colleges systematic courses in the study of forestry are provided. In addition, several large proprietors have kindly allowed their woods to be used for forestry instruction and practice; Earl Bathurst and Lord Penrhyn may be specially mentioned in this connexion. In 1906 Mr John Mahler, of Penissa Glyn, gave the freehold of some land at Chirk to the Denbighshire County Council upon the condition that it should be devoted to forestry instruction. Certain areas, moreover, of the Crown forests have been made available for instruction by the Commissioners of his Majesty's

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\* See an interesting account given in the 'Journal' of the Board of Agriculture for July and August, 1910.



**Woods and Forests.** The value and importance of all this was abundantly illustrated by the excellent forestry exhibit at the Royal Agricultural Society's show at Gloucester.

The immediate need is for greater facilities for the instruction of woodmen, and those actually engaged in forestry work. The Government have established exactly the type of school required in the Forest of Dean; but one school of the kind is far from sufficient. The Forest of Dean school is intended only for working youths and men who are willing and capable of performing the ordinary work of a labourer in the Crown forests. They must be between the ages of twenty and twenty-five; and men already in Crown employment are alone eligible for admission. Students already employed by the Crown in Dean Forest continue to receive their usual salary; those employed in Crown forests other than Dean Forest receive while at the school about 15s. a week, according to their qualifications, from the Dean Forest funds. The Deputy Surveyor, or the Crown Receiver of any other Crown estate, may recommend promising students for an additional allowance to be paid from the funds of that estate on condition that the student returns at the end of the school course to work on the estate which has paid the allowance. The course of instruction, which extends over two years, comprises silviculture generally, forest protection, mensuration, utilisation and management, surveying, practical work, and forest botany. The school has proved so satisfactory that last year it moved into an improved building, the cost of which was defrayed by the Treasury, as will also be its future maintenance. Since the school, however, does not provide apparently for more than twelve students each year, it is obvious that it cannot meet the requirements of any such scheme as that contemplated by the Coast Erosion Commissioners. It affords, however, an excellent guide to the lines upon which the Government or local authorities should proceed in the organisation of similar schools.

At the same time much might be done in rural secondary schools situated near woods, to connect the lessons in botany, entomology, chemistry and physiology, with forestry. For instance, botany might have special

relation to the structure and properties of various kinds of wood, etc., the identification of woods and the species of trees by their buds, leaves, etc., the diseases of timber and of forest plants generally, the injuries due to higher parasites and fungi. Chemistry should be directed to certain special points bearing on forestry; physiology would explain diseased conditions caused by abnormal states in the soil, etc., and indicate the treatment; a special course in the biology of soil, and bacteriology, would also be desirable. Entomology might be regarded from the point of view of a forester, illustrating the good and harm done by insects. In the secondary school, however, this can only be accomplished to a very modified extent, owing to the very different careers for which the pupils are in preparation.

It is to the village elementary school that one must look mainly for the early training of the future woodman. Nature-study and school gardening have made such remarkable progress of late years that no difficulty ought to be experienced in appropriate localities in correlating those subjects with forestry in general. Out-of-door lessons might easily be given on the fungi which are really dangerous to forest growths, and which are estimated not to exceed half a dozen. Specimens of diseased larches, which are more liable to disease than any other tree grown in Great Britain, should be examined, and the causes of disease, whether due to defective planting, the attacks of insects, or other reasons, should be explained, together with such suggested remedies as rotation of crops, the use of seed from the Alps, or self-reproduction. It is often said that British forests do not suffer from injurious insects to nearly the same extent as those upon the Continent. This may be partially due to the smallness of our existing woods as compared with those abroad; and we might perhaps experience a corresponding loss of trees if planting were carried on upon the scale proposed by the Commission. Already great losses have been incurred in certain places in Great Britain from the attacks of the large larch Saw-fly. The insects may be found in various stages of growth, as (1) eggs embedded in the shoots of the tree, (2) caterpillars feeding on the green needles, (3) cocoons lying in the ground or among the long

grass, and (4) adults on the wing. They may easily be detected, and children might be shown how to hunt for and destroy them.

Such work has been for years successfully undertaken by the children of the Aldersey School in Cheshire. At the instigation of the late Miss Eleanor Ormerod they were encouraged to hunt for destructive insects, of which they brought during the spring of 1904 no fewer than 299,812 specimens to school; special attention was directed to the Ox-Warble maggots, which were squeezed out of the backs of more than 2000 cattle; these maggots not only lessen the value of the hides, but the loss is very considerable in flesh, milk, and health in summer, when the animals are galloping frantically about, being tortured by scores of them. The cattle in the parish of Bunbury, where the school is situated, are now practically free from the pest. This work was considered so useful that a paper upon the subject was read in 1887 by the Hon. Cecil Parker, before a Committee of the Royal Agricultural Society, and was recommended for publication. There is no reason why children should not be similarly occupied elsewhere in the destruction of injurious insects, the collection of which would be far less distasteful than in the case of the Ox-Warble fly. Again, they might be taught how to detect and remedy leaf-shedding in conifers; in fact, no limit can be placed to the varieties of instruction which may be derived from the study of trees and directly associated with the ordinary class lessons in arithmetic, mensuration, botany, physiology and entomology in their elementary stages. Nothing would interest children more than the study of the habits and life-history of various birds and animals, important in woodlands as enemies either to trees or insects. It may, of course, be argued that teachers competent to give such instruction are not to be found; but, if the owners of woodlands, local authorities, and school managers insist upon having the subjects taught, a supply of teachers with the necessary qualifications will be forthcoming to meet the demand. The required knowledge may be partially acquired through a slight modification of the syllabus at training colleges, or by a third year's course of training at some agricultural college.

In conclusion, the chief points which urgently call for

the attention of the Government with regard to afforestation may be thus summarised :

(1) A systematic survey of the lands suitable for afforestation throughout the United Kingdom, with estimates as to the probable cost of planting in each case.

(2) The planting of small areas at varying altitudes and with differing soils and climate.

(3) The appointment of several inspectors who are experts in forestry. At present there appears to be only one, with an assistant inspector.

(4) The formation of a Board of Forestry, independent of the Woods and Forests Department.

(5) The appropriation of about one thousand acres in each of the existing Crown forests, to be used for demonstration and experimental purposes.

(6) The purchase of small areas of land in Kent, Sussex, Herefordshire or Worcestershire, which may cost anything from 30*l.* to 50*l.* per acre, and of land elsewhere which may be had from 3*l.* to 5*l.* per acre, to contrast the difference in the growth and quality of trees, grown in the respective districts.

(7) The appointment of a sub-committee of the Advisory Committee on Agricultural Science to co-operate with the suggested Board of Forestry.

(8) Increased facilities for the training of woodmen.

(9) The correlation to some extent of the work in rural secondary schools with forestry.

(10) The introduction into all village schools of practical lessons bearing upon the diseases to which trees are liable, the insects which attack them, and the life-history of a tree, from the germination of the seed until the tree is fit to be felled for timber.

(11) The allocation of a considerable sum out of the Development Grant to the above objects.

(12) The treatment of all woodlands, for purposes of death-duties, taxation and rates, as land in its natural and unimproved state until the woodlands and forests are used for the sale of timber.

JOHN C. MEDD.

## Art. 6.—THE SONG OF ROLAND.

1. *La Chanson de Roland, ou de Roncevaux, du xii<sup>e</sup> siècle.* Edited by Fr. Michel. Paris: Silvestre, 1837.
2. *La Chanson de Roland.* Edited by Léon Gautier. Tours: Mame, 1872.
3. *La Chanson de Roland.* Edited by L. Clédat. Paris: Garnier, 1890.
4. *Étude sur la Chanson de Roland.* By A. Angellier. Paris: L. Boulanger, 1878.
5. *Sur la date et la patrie de la Chanson de Roland.* By Gaston Paris. *Romania* xi (400-9). Paris: Vieweg, 1882.
6. *Les Épopées Françaises.* By Léon Gautier. Four vols. Paris: Victor Palmé, 1878-94.

A SUBJECT so vast and so entrancing as is the parent epic of Christendom must be approached in any short study from some one single attitude or from none.

A great book and a lifetime would hardly suffice to permit a presentation of all the thoughts it can rouse in one who loves and knows it. It is the master poem of the Pyrenees; and all that can be said of the Pyrenees would enter into such a work. It is the first completed piece of literary art in a Christian vernacular; and all that is suggested by such an origin would need to have its place. It is the most battling of songs; and the theory of Christian battle should be proposed in any such general survey. It enshrines the legendary effect of Charlemagne and of his peers upon the European mind; and that door alone opens on to a landscape almost too wide for a single pen. Even these overwhelming subjects are but headings set down at random. A hundred others suggest themselves as the prospect of that poem rises. One might almost make of it, by way of commentary, an explanation of how Europe came to be; for, if it be true, as it is, that the civilisation of Rome poured into the lake of the Dark Ages to burst out afresh in the channels of the new nationalities, the spirit of those well-springs remains for us chiefly in the 'Chanson de Roland.'

But, as I have said, it is impossible so to treat it, or to begin to treat it, within the limits of an essay; and all that can be attempted in these pages is the partial discussion of one particular aspect of the epic which has

been but little studied, and yet is not without its interest. It will be advanced here that the Song of Roland, even in the form in which we now possess it, shows evidence of origins nearly contemporary with the disaster of Roncesvalles, and betrays an acquaintance with the site of that disaster, with certain details of the fighting, and with all the probable characters of the scene and its actors, which too many historical critics, recognising the poem for what it is—a Northern work written nearly three hundred years after the destruction of that rearguard under the *Imus Pyrenaeus*—have ignored.

It will be maintained that the 'Chanson de Roland,' even as it stands in the Oxford manuscript, gives proof of original camp-songs which sprang, if not from the battlefield itself, at least from a society which was nearly contemporary with it in time and acquainted also with the district in which the defeat took place.

Before proceeding it will be of advantage to lay before the reader a view of the poem, and to contrast it with all that we know as a matter of certain history with regard to the disaster. The plot of the 'Chanson' is, briefly, that Charlemagne, in the course of his campaigns, invaded Spain and subdued the whole of that country with the exception of Saragossa. The King of Saragossa, Marsile, fears that his city will be conquered like the rest. He is advised by his peers to make a false submission to Charlemagne in order to get him out of the country. Charlemagne receives the ambassadors from Saragossa at Cordova, which he has just taken by storm. Charlemagne asks his peers whether the ambassadors seem to them to be of good faith, and whether the Mahommedan King of Saragossa (for the whole expedition is undertaken against the Mahommedans) is sincere in his profession of conversion to the Faith. At this council, Roland, the nephew of the Emperor, will not credit the good faith of the embassy, and advises laying siege to Saragossa; whereupon Ganelon, one of Charlemagne's barons, gives contrary advice, urging Charlemagne to accept the fealty of Marsile, who offers to hold all Spain in fief from the Emperor. Ganelon is the father-in-law of Roland. Others agree with him, and Ganelon is sent to Marsile. On the way, as he rides with the Mahommedan embassy, he arranges with them to betray his son-in-law, Roland, who

is the most popular leader of the French army, and who has advised the destruction of Saragossa. In order to effect this, Ganelon promises Marsile that Roland shall be left with the rear-guard while Charlemagne is passing through the last defiles as he re-crosses the Pyrenees. All happens as Ganelon promised. Roland is left behind with the rear-guard and the twelve peers. When Charlemagne is far down the valley, with the main body of the host, and while the rear-guard are still stationed on the summit of the pass of Roncevalles, the whole army of the Saracens falls from ambush upon Roland's force and destroys it. Just before dying Roland winds upon his horn. Charlemagne hears the sound miraculously, returns with his army, weeps over the bodies of Roland and the twelve peers, destroys the Mahommedan army, takes Saragossa, baptises the Mahommedans *en masse*, comes back to Aix-la-Chapelle, and has Ganelon tried for treason and torn to pieces by wild horses.

This, with a mass of legendary and some miraculous detail, is the substance of the Song of Roland. The date of it, as we have seen, is probably the mid-eleventh century, nearly or quite three hundred years after the historical events which were its germ. Those events differ very greatly, of course, from the legend. In most points the difference is undisputed and absolute; in some the difference may or may not exist, the evidence upon them being merely negative; in a few, there is coincidence between the legend and its historical basis.

It should first be pointed out that, although the scanty notices which are our only strictly historical and contemporary evidence for the disaster at Roncevalles mention the Gascons (whom some interpret as Basques) as the destroyers of Charlemagne's rear-guard, the whole of the historic expedition against Spain was an expedition undertaken for the invasion of land the recent conquest of which by Islam was its sole interest to the contemporaries of Charlemagne. The spirit, therefore, running through the poem, though it has been ridiculed as unhistorical, is exactly what we should expect a popular legend to exhibit which sprang from a true historical basis. Of course the straightforward struggle between the Emperor and Mahommedanism is exaggerated and lifted into the region of the marvellous; but to every soldier in the actual



expedition, and to all the French firesides that heard in the following year of the campaign and its disastrous conclusion, Mahommedanism was the enemy, and fighting in Spain meant fighting against the forces of this new and destructive civilisation which was so terrible a menace to Christendom.

To appreciate this point it is sufficient to remember the dates of the Mahommedan invasion. Spain had been swept by the Asiatics and the Africans not seventy years before the Spanish expedition of Charlemagne. That wave of anti-Christian menace had crossed the Pyrenees less than fifty years before the Spanish expedition, and had penetrated to the very heart of France. All the old men in the armies and in the court of Charlemagne could remember it. That invasion was but five years more distant than is the Franco-Prussian war from the French generation of to-day, when in 777 Charlemagne, then a man of twenty-five years of age, received embassies from two of the military commanders in Spain, praying for help against their chief, the Caliph, Abd-el-Raman. The French armies poured into Spain that same winter by the two sea roads at either end of the Pyrenees. The right or western of these two forces occupied Pamplona (a mountain town which the Mahommedans had never permanently garrisoned) and then effected its junction with the left or eastern army before the walls of Saragossa, from which town the embassies of the discontented Emirs had come, and which, it was promised, would open its gates to the Emperor. It seems certain that no siege was attempted; the main effect of the whole expedition was the establishment of what was afterwards known as the Spanish March, a triangle roughly corresponding to Northern Catalonia. The Mahommedans continued long afterwards to hold all the towns of the plain, such as Huesca; and as a military expedition the campaign had failed. Charlemagne did, however, bring back hostages with him to answer for the fidelity of the Emirs who had sought his aid.

In order to understand what followed, it is important to know by what avenues an army could approach Spain in the eighth century. It was possible to enter during the winter (as Charlemagne entered) by the two sea roads, and possibly by the low pass of the Cerdagne,

if the weather were favourable. In summer the return would be feasible by any of these three, and also by either of the two great Roman roads which cross the Pyrenees, the one from Saragossa to Toulouse, the other from Pamplona to Bordeaux. The pass over which the first of these crosses was known to the Romans as the *Summus Pyrenaeus*, and is to-day called the *Somport*; the second crosses at a point which was known to the Romans as the *Imus Pyrenaeus*, but whose local and popular name was and is *Roncesvalles*. It is in the heart of the Basque country. The straight road home for Charlemagne would have been by the first of these ways; and it may be remarked in passing that all the great military operations of the Dark Ages, on the Continent as in Britain, followed the surviving Roman military roads. Charlemagne preferred, however, to retreat by way of Pamplona, which he had already garrisoned. In the summer of 778 he marched up the Ebro valley, reached Pamplona, dismantled that fortress lest it should prove a centre of local resistance to his officers, and at last took with his army the road to Bayonne and Bordeaux. The main part of the army had crossed, leaving its rear-guard on the summit of the pass, when the latter was attacked and destroyed on August 15; the date has been further established of late years by the discovery of an inscription on a tomb. We have no contemporary evidence that Roland was in command of that force, though it is probable enough; nor have we any evidence of his connexion with the Gallo-Roman family of which Charlemagne was the head; though here again the legend may well enough be founded on fact, for the Carolingian family had risen to power as the chief of a group of great Gallo-Roman and Rhenish landowners who were closely interconnected. All we know of Roland historically is his name (which of course at such a date tells us nothing of his race) and his office, which was that of Prefect of the Breton March. No further details are afforded by strict historical evidence; and it is upon such a meagre basis that we must proceed with our enquiry.

It is always a piece of temerity for the layman to put forth a theory in a field which experts have explored before him. His only excuse, when that field happens to be a work of poetic art, is that this kind of composition has many facets besides those which appeal to the learned in

etymology. If the Poem be not only literature but history as well, or at least if history be one factor of its interest, then the layman who has informed himself with historical study finds a second title for his presumption. He cannot indeed challenge the conclusions, whether universal or disputed, of men who have made the form of words and their derivation a particular study. He has no materials wherewith to maintain that such and such a phrase, such and such an idiom or sound, proves a particular date or indicates an ulterior origin in a passage of verse. But he can maintain with justice that such and such an allusion, or such and such a mental attitude towards the subject of the poem, is consonant with a given period of European thought and a given locality which he knows well and has minutely studied. Still more does he possess the right, in common with all men who are enamoured of good letters, to show how the creation of such verse could only or must probably have proceeded from certain emotions aroused in a certain manner; for this part of criticism is sound not in proportion to learning, but in proportion to judgment and to an experience in the ways of poets.

There must first be conceded all that diplomatic and etymological research has established with regard to this epic. The '*Chanson de Roland*,' as we now have it, is a poem written in the dialect of Northern France. It is written in a lingual form that makes it certainly not older than the close of the tenth century.\* The general view taken in it of what a battle should be, its scheme of armour and of military arrangement, is, in general, of that epoch; whether it is entirely so or not, these pages will proceed to examine. It is so in the main; and the whole colour of the work is indubitably the colour of that great Gallic generation which preceded and which made possible the Crusades.

Nor is this main truth with regard to the *Chanson* the only argument which can be evoked in favour of its lateness and against the theory that it bears every trace of origins contemporary with Roncesvalles. For, though few

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\* The earliest manuscript, which is the original for all the modern studies of the poem, the manuscript indexed at the Bodleian (where it reposes) as Digby ms. 23, can hardly date from an earlier period than the end of the twelfth century.

scholars might affirm it, and though most would to-day contradict it of any ancient and popular work, the present writer is not only willing to concede but would persistently advocate the view that the Song is not a string of ballads nor an ordered hotchpotch of traditional chants, but the work of a poet, that is, of a maker. It is a poem, a thing made, not a thing that has happened; it is one thing, and it has one author.

The Oxford manuscript ends with the famous phrase, 'Ci falt la geste que Tuoldus declinet,' which may mean 'This is the end of what Tuoldus wrote,' or may mean 'This is where what Tuoldus wrote makes default.' Some have deduced from this that the author of the epic was indeed a certain Tuoldus; and Genin will have it that this Tuoldus was that same Tuoldus who was brought by the Conqueror from Fécamp to be the head of a monastery at Peterborough, where he died in 1098—a view in which he was confirmed by the discovery at Peterborough of two copies of 'The War of Roncesvalles' in French verse. Or possibly (he thought) it might be the work of this monk's father, another Tuoldus, who had taught William the Conqueror his Latin. But Tuoldus was a common enough name; and Michel, who first printed the Oxford manuscript and gave back the Song of Roland to the world (in the year 1837), was at pains to show that the name Tuoldus frequently occurs, and that the discovery of these manuscripts at Peterborough was an insufficient proof of authorship.

One may take it that in the present state of our knowledge no one can ascribe to any particular person the composition of the song; but that it was the work of one man may be asserted more confidently and upon other grounds. There has arisen recently a fashion which in some of its exponents argues too little wit, and in others tends to mere logomachy; it is a fashion for emphasising that part of a great work which has a multiple origin, and minimising that part of it which has a personal origin. The most brilliant exposition of such an attitude towards a national epic is to be found in the recent publication of Professor Murray's work upon the Rise of the Greek Epic.

It is evident that every artistic production whatsoever is only in part its author's, and must also be in part due to the general action of society. It is moreover evident that

this will be particularly true of national epics, especially when such epics arise in a simple society where tradition replaces record and national memories are enshrined in popular songs. It is moreover true, though less evident, that a poet who undertakes the presentation of a whole body of legend will probably incorporate in his work whole passages inherited from an earlier time. It is these that will perhaps have inspired him to the rhythm and conception of the whole; and his method will take for granted the right to include traditional epithets, traditional couplets, and even perhaps to borrow traditional gems which have separately struck his imagination. None the less is the author of a national epic a true poet and a single one; none the less have we the right, from our knowledge of poetry and of men, to speak of Homer as a man, and none the less have we the right to say that the Song of Roland was conceived and written by, and was the work of, one human being.

The right to assert this depends upon our approach to such a masterpiece upon another line of analysis quite as absolute and far more intimate than that of the grammarian. No two minds have ever yet given unity to a story. The power of selection, the emphasis of critical passages, the harmony of the emotion produced by the whole, prove one mind. It does not disprove the one mind that it should have used varied and collective material. The only thing that could disprove it would be an anarchy in the æsthetic conception of the whole; and this particularly applies to a certain subtle something in the way of looking at human doom which is not the vague philosophy of a society but the vision of a single and highly personal soul. Let anyone acquainted with the Homeric poems write down from memory twenty passages which he loved in his youth and which revealed the poet to him. Let him survey those passages as a whole, and note their separate effect upon his mind. Not twenty men of genius chanced to throw out these twenty things; one man it was that so conceived of human life. The mass, the material of a work based upon inherited tradition and coloured by much popular and general literature, will certainly not bear the self-conscious mark which is borne by the fiction of a critical age; but that which makes a literary work live, the striking of the right note

in the right place, and of a particular note, in the one as in the other, betrays the single artist.

It is easy for a man possessed of sufficient knowledge in his subject to catalogue phrases, incidents and allusions, which can be made to suggest, though they by no means prove, the varied origin of a very ancient poem, especially when that ancient poem deals with a general and a national theme upon which the thoughts of all men have for centuries turned. But no one can read this epic, the *Song of Roland*, through, neglecting the notes which distract the weight and current of the work, and rather keeping to its purpose by permitting himself the full æsthetic pleasure which the poem yields, without laying it down convinced that he has read the writing of one man. If that conviction be an illusion, then the same illusion must haunt one's reading of the verse of any poet that has ever written.

Now not only must we grant that the *Song of Roland* is in its general treatment of arms and of customs a poem of the middle eleventh, or at the very earliest of the late tenth century, and not only must we grant that its inspiration is the inspiration of one man of that time, but we may further concede that the poem may doubtfully be affixed to a particular locality as well as a particular epoch, and that locality far distant from the scene of the poem. The text we possess is a text which, with all its corruption, points to a Norman origin; and so great a scholar as Gaston Paris (whose scholarship, whatever we may think of his historical judgment, was indisputable) thought he could discover in the diction certain words peculiar to the *Marches of Normandy*—the tribal district of which *Avranches* was the bishopric, and the *River Couesnon* the boundary—the extreme occidental district of the *Second Lyonnese*. The part played by *St Michael of the Peril* in the poem has been imagined by some to give weight to this hypothesis; for the shrine of *St Michael's Mount* is of course the great shrine of that district, and the local name has always been '*St Michael in the Peril of the Sea.*' But there is no need to bring in this further suggestion. The shrine of *St Michael* and the observance of his feast (October 16) were sufficiently famous throughout *Gaul* to find their way into the poem of any region; and, for the matter of that, *St Gabriel* plays a greater

part than his colleague in the story of Roland. If such allusions be required, a stronger one is to be discovered in the fact that Roland, the hero and motive of the whole, was Prefect of the Marches of Brittany, the very district whence the poem is supposed to have proceeded.

All this then may be granted. The poem has an author writing certainly two hundred and perhaps nearer three hundred years after the event; it was written at the very opposite end of France from the site of the disaster of Roncesvalles; and it may be particularly assigned to a Norman inspiration at a moment when the Norman spirit was itself the inspiration of Europe. None the less, the *Chanson* contains, for those who will look closely into its details as well as for those who will consider its general treatment, ample proof of its dependence upon, and of its suggestion by, sources almost contemporary with the destruction of the rear-guard in the deep wooded cleft beyond Burguete, which has rendered that corner of the Basque country the first perhaps among the literary sites of Europe. In enumerating and discussing these I will begin with those examples which have the least value in the eyes of scholars, though whether poets or travellers will think so little of them I am not sure.

In the first place, the landscape is the landscape of the Pyrenees. Here is a matter not susceptible of positive proof. Were you to assure a foreigner that certain phrases in Gray's *Elegy*, still more perhaps in '*In Memoriam*,' forcibly suggested the landscape of rural England, you could not prove what you said. The suggestion is most vivid where there is least particular use of adjective and of special description. The quatrains in '*In Memoriam*' which begin, 'The time draws near the birth of Christ,' the line in Gray's *Elegy*, 'And drowsy tinklings lull the distant fold,' give you each a separate and a distinct view of an English landscape, each of a separate sort, each dealing with a different season. So it is with the effect of landscape in the *Song of Roland*. The famous couplet so frequently repeated,

'High are the hills and huge and dim with cloud,  
Down in the deeps the living streams are loud,'

might, you would think, if you had not seen those hills,



apply to any hills. But the spirit of them is the spirit of the Pyrenees. The corresponding couplet,

'High are the hills and very high the trees,' etc.,

is admirably reminiscent of Roncesvalles itself. Nor is it any reply to this suggestion to say that the words are simple and universal. So it is with all great verse, yet all great verse can immediately suggest by the use of such universal terms things most highly particular; and phrases of this sort mean, to one who has known the Pyrenees, what they mean to no one else.

There are olives in the Spanish plains, none on the Gascon side. No Norman writing with a merely Norman tradition would have remembered that. The memory which it enshrines is the more powerful from the fact that the poet has no good idea of what an olive-tree is. He thinks it is a high tree, but undoubtedly he has heard a song in which the French Ambassador, when (in the thirtieth stanza) he rides through Spain, draws rein under an olive-tree; and, wherever the Infidel is in action, the olive is the characteristic tree, but in the mountains it is the pine.

The treatment of light in the poem is not to be neglected. (I know the point will seem fantastic, but those who think it most fantastic as they read it, will be less certain if they will cross from the Spanish uplands down into the trench of Roncesvalles.) It is not till Charlemagne has crossed the mountains that the poet remembers the sun, and brings in that fine parallel to the miracle of Joshua. Roland, dying, turns his face also towards Spain from the summit of the pass. Once over the pass, the Imperial army is upon open plains, and can pursue. The men who fall in the battle with their faces towards the enemy fall with their faces toward the sun. These points, the gloom of the northern valley, the sudden sunlight at its summit, the high plateaux beyond, are true reminiscences of Roncesvalles; and such a combination is rare.

There should be further noted the little picture of the army catching sight of the French plains. 'The French went down the pass with heavy hearts, and fifteen leagues around one heard their march, until they came towards the larger land, and when they would see

Gascony, the country of their Lord, then they remembered their honours and their lands, and the young women and the gentle wives. There was not one that did not weep to think of such things again; but the one that wept most bitterly was Charles, for he thought of his nephew up in the Gate of Spain.' Here, as in the other passages quoted (and there are a score and more in the three hundred stanzas), the words might apparently apply to any landscape, but one must see Roncesvalles to know how thoroughly they apply here, and how, as one goes down the pass, there comes a point where you see in the V of the wooded hills, high above the gates of the Nive to which you are descending, the flat blue plains of Gascony like a sea.

Yet another particular point is well worthy of consideration—the mention of the 'Gates of Sizre.' The insistence upon these in the poem is of the most curious interest. The conformation of the Pass of Roncesvalles is peculiar. The actual passage over the water-shed of the Pyrenees is neither narrow nor difficult for an army. The gorge, where the rear-guard under the Prefect of the Breton Marches was caught, is dangerous rather from the cover afforded by the woods and the steepness of the hillside than for any other reason. But just where the other Pyrenean gorges debouch openly on to the French plain, the Gorge of Roncesvalles narrows into distinct gates, through which the river Nive pours like a mill-race between two walls. This defile (the district still bears the name) forms the 'Gates of Sizre' upon which the poem insists. The mention of them is particularly striking when we consider that the only historic account we possess is unsoldierly, gives no reason for the overwhelming of the rear-guard, and does not introduce so much as the name of Sizre nor mention that topographical feature. The popular tradition, originating in the army itself, and doubtless inspiring the sequence of songs which in their turn inspired the author of the Song of Roland, was more just and more informing.

These 'gates,' through which Charlemagne had to pass his main army, are, under the conditions of mountain marching in that time, a long day's march from the summit. Indeed it is not a short day's march to-day, with a good road and a less burdensome train. The problem

was awkward. The Emperor must get the mass of his army and his heavy train through the defile of the Nive; he must cover the rear at the most dangerous point, and that most dangerous point happens to be just too far for immediate communication. This difficulty and this explanation of the consequence soldiers remembered in their traditions; monks and chroniclers failed to grasp it. The traitor Ganelon says to the leader of the enemy, who wants to know how he can get at Roland to kill him: 'When the King [that is, Charlemagne] shall be in the heart of the gorges of Sizre, he will have placed a rear-guard behind him, and there will be Roland commanding it.' The reader will find the passage in the 48th stanza. In the 59th stanza Roland halts the rear-guard on the summit of the hills, 'right against high Heaven,' to quote the poem. The importance of the passage of Sizre comes in again immediately. It haunts the dream of Charlemagne, which next follows.

The whole business of leaving the rear-guard behind, its danger and its importance, comes out in the Song of Roland, and comes out all the more strongly from the confusion into which a poet, perhaps not a military poet, relying on this legend generations later, gets the story. It is not easy to find out what Roland really thinks about it. He is at once very angry and very proud of being left behind. A careful reading of the passages (stanzas 63 to 67) not only points to the confusion in the author's mind, but immediately suggests a reason for that confusion. He was possessed of a military legend the full purport of which he could not seize. The older stories had insisted upon the capital importance of this rear-guard position. Some made Roland take it as a honour; some made him regard it as a trap; but all emphasised it.

Now for a further point in the topographical argument. Here and there in the Song one gets names which are either a reminiscence of or directly taken from the Pyrenees, apart from Sizre or the famous name of Roncesvalles itself. This is the more remarkable because the Song, while preserving, fossilising as it were, these local allusions, is very hazy and legendary in its general geography. It makes Charlemagne go right down to Cordova; of course it makes him take Saragossa, which he never did. The poet, again, has certainly mixed

up the two Roman roads. He makes the army march from Saragossa to Bordeaux (which it did), but he says nothing of Pamplona, which was the reason of the detour. The coming and going of Charlemagne is always directly to and from Saragossa, and that would have meant the great Somport road. The only reason why Charlemagne got to Roncesvalles at all was that he desired to dismantle Pamplona on his way, and Roncesvalles is the pass of the Pamplona road. Yet (and this is significant) in spite of this ignorance of Spanish and Pyrenean geography, certain names are remembered. Val-Tierra, Val-Terne (which is Val-Tenebro, nowhere near Saragossa but right in the mountains), Val-Ferree, very probably the gorge some eight miles to the left of the great Saragossa road over the Pyrenees, Val-Peneuse—these names are Pyrenean names. They stand in the poem for distant pagan places and look legendary, but they are real names and survive to this day.

It would be foolish to insist upon the term 'puy,' used of a mountain, for, though this has mainly survived in the south of France, it was common in the northern dialect in which the 'Chanson de Roland' was written. There is more to be said for insisting upon the term 'port,' a pass, which is a specifically Pyrenean word, though of course it is found in many French dialects. The Song of Roland uses it continually of the Pyrenees. And there is in connexion with it a line which powerfully recalls those touches of landscape to which I have alluded, where the poem speaks of Charlemagne riding 'the whole length of the port all day long,' when he turns at hearing the horn of Roland.

Purely historic considerations help us further to discover in the Song of Roland traces of its ancient origins. The disaster of Roncesvalles took place in 778. Charlemagne survived it by nearly forty years. In the dark time after his death, when the pressure of pagan and barbaric invasion fell hardest upon Christendom, the very moment for legend had come. If the reader will consult stanzas 262-268 \* and, in general, the hundred lines or so between the thirty-second and the thirty-third

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\* The references and those given above are to the twenty-first issue of Gautier's standard edition, 1895.

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hundred, he will agree with all scholars who have noted this passage that the pagan host which is opposed to that of Charlemagne in the Song of Roland is symbolic, and includes, among many imaginary names and many names difficult to assign, many others which precisely correspond to those by whom the general assault upon civilisation was delivered. Now the worst of that assault fell in the second generation after the death of Charlemagne. Here, in the list given in our epic, are the Huns, who swept into Europe just after Roncesvalles (they crossed the Carpathians before the death of Charlemagne); here are the Lithuanians, and those pagans of Eastern Germany, the Prussians, whom later the Teutonic knights were tardily to convert to the Faith, Slavonic tribes, an echo of the Turkish attack upon the East; on the other hand, the Normans do not appear in the poem save as a regular body of French and Christian soldiery. This way of looking at the Normans conclusively proves that the authorship of the poem is later than the ninth century, but its active appreciation of the invaders as conclusively proves that the authorities behind it were of the ninth century.

In connexion with the historical proofs of the age of these authorities, there is something stronger still. Paris had already become the acknowledged centre of France, with its local Counts developed into a national dynasty, before the time when our poem was composed. That development had been going on for a hundred years; and the first attempt to make the Count of Paris head of the State goes back to almost within a century of Roncesvalles and to less than a century after the death of Charlemagne. Even under Charlemagne Paris was a town of great importance; it had already once been the capital; it was undoubtedly the richest and the largest of the northern towns. Nevertheless, the fact that Charlemagne's chief seat was at Aix-la-Chapelle, and that Laon was the northern stronghold of the Carolingian line, is emphasised throughout the poem. There is no mention of Paris. Charlemagne 'will return to Aix, to his Chapelle.' Loum (that is Laon) comes in with Aix in a repetitive manner as a sort of sister city of Charlemagne's during the same magnificent plaint over the body of Roland. With Aix it is,

'When I shall be at Aix in my chapelle' (stanza 239); with Laon it is (stanza 238), 'When I shall be in Laon and in my room.' The poet lived in a time when Laon and Aix were nothing and Paris everything. Yet he speaks as though he saw a time when Aix and Laon were capitals; Paris he leaves wholly aside.

Naturally and necessarily all these survivals from older authorities are embedded in a mass of contemporary misconception. The Normans are introduced, though the Pirate settlement in the Second Lyonnese was not effected until a century after Roncesvalles, and it must have been another generation at least before the foreign element was absorbed and Normandy could be treated by the poet as a French province. Again, there is the odd allusion to the 'men of Lorraine' in stanza 204. They make up half the Ninth 'Corps d'Armée' in the Epic; they form part of the feudal court which Charlemagne summons to Aix; yet even the name could not have existed until the partition of the Treaty of Verdun, two generations after the disaster of Roncesvalles.

It is easy to prove that everywhere in the mass and body of the poem misconceptions and legends contemporary with the late tenth or early eleventh century predominate. The interest for us lies in the survival of older things: the passage of the Gironde, which is almost certainly historical, and the subsequent passage explaining what men of the poet's time knew—Roland's olifant, for instance, kept as a relic in St Severin,\* and the burial at Blaye in the Church of St Romain.

In two places, and in two only, does the 'Chanson de Roland' provide one of those obvious indications of early origin which pedantry demands, and which are certainly the most immediate or, at any rate, the most direct evidence. These are the phrase at the opening of stanza 301, and the last four lines of stanza 183.

The first of these passages suddenly alludes to 'the ancient Song' as a source in which the author was expected to find his material. The quotation comes on

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\* Yet here again is an example of confusion. The Horn of Roland was kept at Toulouse, and St Severin's church is there, where also Charlemagne deposited the relics of saints brought back from Spain. The Poet knows that he crossed the Garonne at Bordeaux, and transfers the shrine to that city.

one quite startlingly; the poem is ambling along, in the manner it has where it falls into pure narrative, and where there is no point to emphasise; it is dealing merely with the way in which the traitor Ganelon was kept bound. The Emperor has come back to Aix; the traitor Ganelon is held in chains of iron; he is fastened to a stake, his hands are bound with buck-leather, he is beaten with sticks and so forth, when, at the end of the strophe, the next line abruptly says: 'It is written in the old song that Charlemagne sent for his men from many lands, and assembled them at Aix in his Chapelle;' and then the poem goes on to tell of the trial.

The earlier and more important passage comes at the end of a long description of Turpin's fight just before he dies. The Archbishop has risen and is looking for Roland over the field. He finds him and charges again. The poem then goes on to say:

'Charlemagne himself bore witness to the effect of the charge. Turpin spared none, and the Emperor found four hundred bodies round him, some wounded, others cut in two, others with their heads off. So say the Song and the man who was witness to all this on the field itself, namely, St Gilles, through whom God worked miracles. He wrote it all down in the monastery at Laon, and anyone who does not know this has no right to talk about the subject.'

This passage has been noticed by every scholar who has dealt with the poem; but unfortunately it has only been noticed for the purpose of proving or disproving a particular authorship.

That authorship is, with our present means, not to be determined. This conclusion, which we reached above, is increasingly evident with every new attempt at research. But the passage *does* prove something much more important for our purpose than the question of authorship: it proves that in the late tenth or early eleventh century, at any rate not later than the middle of the eleventh century, an old source for the Song of Roland was in existence, could be referred to, and was believed to be contemporary with the battle.

It is important here to emphasise a canon of historical evidence which none properly recognised until Fustel de Coulanges transformed once and for all the history of



the Dark Ages, getting rid of tedious and pedantic guesswork upon which too many of us were nourished, and setting that passage of history firmly upon its feet. Fustel insisted, that, when you have got a document containing elements of the miraculous, the legendary, or even the impossible, you should not merely on that account say that it is of no service to history. He held that, no matter how mixed with legend, nay, no matter how palpably false and fraudulent a document might be, you could discover in it, as a rule, some certain evidence in aid of historic research. If the biography of a man written in 910 says of that man (who lived, say, in 700) that in the year 700 he floated down the river Loire miraculously on his cloak 'as far as the stone bridge which runs across the river from Orleans,' that is no proof that the worthy fellow did sail down the river on his cloak. Nor is it proof that the stone bridge existed in 700, but it *is* proof that the stone bridge was there in 910.

So it is with this somewhat neglected passage in the Song of Roland—neglected at least so far as its plainest deduction is concerned. Writing at a time of very active European travel, and writing for men who were continually on the march, the Poet refers them to one of the most famous cities through which they were constantly passing, and says in effect: 'If you doubt that one man killed four hundred, etc., you can find the whole thing written down in "the old Song," at Laon, which is first-rate authority, for it is written by a man who was there, to wit, St Gille.'

Now that is exactly one of those false statements which, because it was false, academic history has not known how to turn to a useful purpose. It must be false, because St Gille was the contemporary not of Charlemagne but of his grandfather. Moreover, we know that St Gille got mixed up with the Carolingian cycle very early; and that the presence of the Saint in a story of Charlemagne is a sure indication of legend. The modern reader will be equally sceptical about any eyewitness having found Archbishop Turpin's body surrounded by four hundred dead enemies. But what that citation does clearly prove is that people in the middle of the eleventh century at latest took it for granted that

the document preserved in the Monastery of Laon was contemporary with Charlemagne. It must therefore have been very old. A man's eyes and his acquaintance with contemporary writing, let alone the long tradition of the monastery, would be enough to certify that. How old we cannot tell. But take the memory of a man living in, say, 1050; tradition must at least take us to a time which men whom *he* could remember as a child could recall; in other words, living tradition brings you back, at the least, to within a generation of the close of that ninth century whose darkness and barbaric adventure, following the death of Charlemagne, I presume throughout to be the starting-point of the great poem.

To sum up the results of the foregoing remarks. The Song of Roland was written, upon the basis of old popular chants, by one writer; and he was a great poet. This writer wrote not later than the last generation of the eleventh century, nor earlier than the last generation of the tenth; and most probably he wrote between these dates, in that upspringing and revolution of the Christian mind which had for its warriors the Normans, for its chief figure Gregory VII, and for its business the first permanently successful advance against Islam beyond the Pyrenees.

Moreover we can discover in the poem origins prior to such an epoch; this is a statement which no one doubts. But those origins can be pushed further back than has often been imagined. They are traceable, if not to the period within which Charlemagne was a living memory, at any rate to a period not later than the close of the ninth century—a period which stood to Charlemagne's empire as we stand to that of Napoleon, and which stood to the disaster of Roncesvalles much as we stand to the French Revolution. This, the traditions of landscape, of place-names, of military dispositions, and the evidence of tribal names brought into the catalogue of the pagan host, of allusions referable only to the Carolingian period, and, finally, of two passages in the text itself referring to original documents whence the story was derived, sufficiently prove.

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## Art. 7.—AUSTRIA-HUNGARY AND ITALY.

1. *Die italienische Gefahr. Ein Mahnwort an die Delegationen.* With preface by C. M. Danzer. Vienna: Danzer, 1901.
2. *Oesterreich-Ungarn und Italien. Das westbalkanische Problem und Italiens Kampf um die Vorherrschaft in der Adria.* By Leopold, Freiherr von Chlumecky. Leipzig and Vienna: Deuticke, 1907.
3. *Verso la Guerra.* By Battista Pellegrini. Rome: Voghera, 1906.
4. *Die Schwächen unserer Kriegsflotte.* Vienna: Seidel, 1908.
5. *Autriche et Italie.* By Captain Victor Duruy. Paris: Chapelot, 1909.

THAT Austria-Hungary and Italy are allies is a matter of common knowledge; and the diplomatists of both States, as well as those of the German Empire, neglect no opportunity of assuring one another that this is no mere paper alliance, but a thing of actuality. Their satellites in the Press, especially the Vienna papers, never weary of informing the world that the relations between Austria-Hungary and Italy are of the most intimate character; that their friendship has become the 'heart's desire' of the people of both countries; and that the 'Irredenta' question no longer exists, or at most haunts the imagination of a few youthful enthusiasts, whom no one need take seriously. This is the key in which the official Press pitches all its utterances on the subject, and it is always most optimistic and convincing at a moment when one of those 'incidents' has taken place which show how hollow that friendship really is.

Were we to credit these accounts, we should regard the relation between Austria-Hungary and Italy as a perfectly ideal alliance; and the frequent visits paid to one another by the leading statesmen of the two countries would seem to confirm the assurances of the Press. Indeed, if the frequency of these visits could be taken as a gauge for the warmth of the union, it would be impossible to imagine any stronger or closer bond; for it is probable that never yet were the leading personalities of two states standing in diplomatic rela-

tions to one another so often animated by the desire for personal communication. But why, we may ask, are so many protestations necessary if the relations between the States are perfectly satisfactory? Where peace is in question, we may say, as of a woman's reputation: The less it is discussed, the more secure it is. If those who direct the destinies of the two States have so much to say to one another, it would appear that there must be something between them which is not as it should be.

Talleyrand's remark, that the object of language is to disguise thought, unfortunately still holds good in diplomacy; and those who are aware of this fact will not content themselves with the protestations to which we refer. They will demand other evidence. It is not necessary to have a specially keen hearing in order to catch the threatening and excited voices which are heard south of the Alps, calling more and more loudly and more and more frequently for a realisation of the programme of the 'Irredenta'; so frequently and so loudly indeed, that even the officials of the Ball-platz, hard of hearing as they are in such matters, cannot quite avoid now and then paying some regard to them. Their optimism *à tout prix* declines, it is true, to see any real danger in these manifestations; and they assert that the overwhelming majority of the Italian people has nothing in common with the feelings and actions of these turbulent spirits. But facts reduce these unctuous phrases to an absurdity.

The degree of passion to which hatred of Austria has attained in Italy is shown by the occurrences which have taken place at Irredentist meetings. Straw puppets, supposed to represent the old Emperor Francis Joseph, were recently burnt in Italy amid the coarsest abuse; and at Udine, at a gathering of the Irredentist fraternities of Italy and Austria, the Emperor's portrait was tied to the tail of a donkey and thus exposed to the scorn of the crowd. The honour shown to the memory of Wilhelm Oberdank by the Irredentists furnishes a glaring illustration of the direction of their sympathies. Oberdank, as he himself confessed, was the instigator of an attempt on the life of the Emperor Francis Joseph; and, in consequence of this intention, as well as of another bomb outrage, which caused the death of one person, he was

executed. This provided the Irredentists with a welcome opportunity for honouring him as a martyr to their cause. On the death of Oberdank's mother in December 1908, her funeral was transformed by the Irredentists in Austria into an anti-Austrian and anti-dynastic manifestation; and a member of the municipality of Pola brought a wreath to Trieste, in honour of the man who had attempted to murder the Emperor. It is also a striking fact that a street in Rome is named after him.

Were it really only a question of the youthful political freaks of immature *exaltados*, as Vienna is trying to make the world believe, the *première* of d'Annunzio's play 'La Nave,' so saturated with hatred of Austria, would not have had such an enormous success, a success due not so much to the artistic merits of the play as to its political tendencies. D'Annunzio's passionate rallying-cry, 'mare nostro,' expressed not merely his own political feelings, but also those of the whole Italian people. This alone can explain the enthusiasm which made the performance of this play a political event.

Nor is d'Annunzio the only person of importance who has thus openly manifested his hatred of Austria; others too, who must be taken more seriously from the political point of view, have done the same. Among these are the deputy Marcora, who has spoken publicly in a most aggressive manner of 'our Trieste' and 'our Trentino,' as though these goals of Italian longing were actually in the possession of Italy; and General Asinari, who at the dedication of the flags of one of the newly-established cavalry regiments, expressed the hope that he and the Italian army might one day have the honour of marching against Austria, the hereditary foe of Italy.

The experts in hushing-up at Vienna of course contrived to find an explanation intended to weaken the significance of this sensational speech, which they represented as a rhetorical slip on the part of the General. Even had this been the case, its significance was in no way weakened, for, whether intentional or not, the fact remains that war with Austria was the wish nearest to the General's heart. Nor does he stand alone, with d'Annunzio and Marcora; it is also the wish of all political circles in Italy. Even in the Vatican this antipathy to Austria has found support; and the Austrian veto on the

election of Rampolla at the last Vatican conclave was due to the conviction of this fact. Although Austria, with its reputation for clericalism, ought to be nearer the heart of a Cardinal than republican and radical France, this prince of the Church made no secret of his antipathy to the Triple Alliance. The Italian in him is stronger than the priest. Another proof of the wide-spread existence of this hostility may be found in the significant fact that within the last few years a number of papers have been founded in Italy which all raise the same hymn of war against Austria. Such are the 'Nave' at Naples, the 'Mare Nostro' at Venice, the 'Grande Italia' at Milan, and in the forefront of the opposition to the Triplice, 'L'Italia all'estero.' That these may not lack readers is the care of the ever-multiplying national associations, 'Dante Alighieri,' 'Lega Nazionale,' 'Lega Navale,' etc., all of which have inscribed on their banner the liberation of 'unredeemed Italy,' i.e. the conquest of Trieste and the Trentino. Even more significant than the activity of these journals and associations is the establishment in Italy of a great military and political paper, entitled 'La Preparazione,' with the avowed object of preparing Italy for the impending war.

A strong sidelight is thrown on the anti-Austrian feeling in Italy by the bad impression made by the recent rumour of a Turco-Roumanian military convention. As a member of the Triple Alliance, Italy should have welcomed the announcement, since such an agreement, assuming that it actually existed, would be quite in the spirit of the Triple Alliance, and a clever counter-move to Russia's Pan-slavonic Balkan policy. The fact that Italy, instead of satisfaction and assent, expressed disapproval, proves unmistakably that her true sympathies are with the Triple-Entente and not with those Powers with whom she is united in a paper alliance.

Nor is this sympathy confined to the Italian people and the Italian Press; it exists in the Government too. Of course, it is not so openly and violently manifested there; and short-sighted persons may think the encomiums of the Viennese Press on the correctness and loyalty of the Italian Government thoroughly justified. But a closer view will enable them to see its true countenance behind the smooth mask of courtesy. This is especially

manifest in the remarkable inattention of the Government to the Austrophobe manifestations, which are only noticed when they grow so loud that it is impossible to ignore them, as in the case of General Asinari, who, because his attack upon Austria was made in an official position, was relieved of his office. Even more clearly is the true feeling of the Government shown by their untiring exertions to bring the military power of the country to the greatest possible height, in order to be able to wage war successfully with her 'ally'; for that this is the war which she contemplates it is no longer possible to doubt, when Italian soldiers and politicians do not shrink from discussing it as a matter of course.

Nothing, however, has shown more plainly that the Italian Government is at one with the people in its antipathy to Austria than their attitude on the occasion of the Tsar's visit to Racconigi in the autumn of 1909. Though indirect it was none the less manifest. It will be remembered that the Tsar Nicholas, then on his way to Italy, went round by France in order to avoid setting foot on Austrian territory. This was an affront to the Emperor of Austria of a kind very unusual in the intercourse between princes; and it was meant as an indication to the whole world of his antipathy to that country. The fact, that he acted thus on a journey to an ally of the country which he affronted in this striking fashion, was sufficiently remarkable; but the demonstrative reception accorded him in Italy, as though out of gratitude, showed the whole world that official Italy was animated towards Austria by the same feelings as the Tsar. The intimate and heartfelt union with Austria-Hungary is in reality a mere farce, a village 'à la Potemkin'; and its bright rose colour, however thickly laid on, can only deceive the blind or credulous. Clear-sighted observers must long ago have perceived that it is only an artificially supported ruin, whose official buttresses are bound to yield before long.

The consideration of all these circumstances proves beyond doubt that the relations between Austria-Hungary and Italy leave much to be desired. The only questions that irresistibly present themselves in regard to this extraordinary alliance are these: What is the cause of



this state of things? and where does the blame for these strained relations lie?

Italians never weary of assuring their own countrymen and the rest of the world that it is Austria who is the wicked neighbour, whose covetous and arbitrary policy is a danger to Italy, and a menace to peace. Austria covetous and arbitrary! To anyone who has even a superficial acquaintance with the actual conditions of the Monarchy, even though no Austrian, this assertion must sound like a jest, for no reproach can be less merited. Only where the nature of Austrian policy and Austrian conditions is understood insufficiently or not at all can such a legend find credence; but, as this ignorance is unfortunately very common in foreign countries, it may not be superfluous to take this opportunity of making a few comments on the charges thus brought against the policy of Austria-Hungary.

For more than forty years, ever since 1866, this Empire has proved itself most desirous of peace. Of this the first proof was given in the Franco-German war of 1870. At that time there was no lack of persons who urged that the opportunity should be seized. Indeed, negotiations had actually been opened between France and Austria, and conducted by Marshal Leboeuf and Archduke Albrecht; but the Emperor Francis Joseph refrained from intervening in the struggle between his old enemies of 1859 and 1866, great as the temptation must have been to his wounded pride. And ever since he has remained faithful to this love of peace. Only twice since then has Austria unsheathed her sword, in 1878 to carry out the decisions of the Berlin Congress by the occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina; and in 1882, when compelled by a revolt in the Krivosje to resort to arms. The peace-loving ruler imparted to the policy of his Empire a markedly peaceful tendency, which has become characteristic.

Indeed, its leading statesmen, in the desire to maintain this reputation, have gone much too far, and have clung convulsively to a pacific policy even when the dignity and interests of the Empire would have demanded more energetic action. Peace at any price has been the main-spring of all their policy. Under the direction of Count Kálnoky, and even more under Count Goluchowski,

Austria-Hungary anxiously sought to avoid discussions and explanations, lest she should become entangled in any conflict. She looked on as a resigned and benevolent spectator, while the other Powers were occupied in dividing the world between them ; and, as a result, she is the only one of the Great Powers that has acquired no colonies. In the so-called Concert of the Powers, she contented herself with playing the most modest part ; and her voice was only heard in the feeblest *pianissimo*, ever striving to keep time while some other Power conducted the orchestra. A comrade of this sort may be agreeable, but is not likely to be respected. And this has been Austria's lot, especially since she fell so completely under the influence of her northern neighbour as to resemble the pale, lifeless moon, deriving all her light and all her power from the bright and vivifying sun of Germany.

In particular, the supposed threatening attitude of Austria-Hungary towards Italy exists only in the heated fancy of Italians ; and it may be doubted whether they themselves seriously believe in the assertions of their numerous alarmist journals. Not a soul in Austria, least of all the Emperor and his Ministry, dreams of attacking Italy and increasing the Empire, at her expense, by such a conquest as that of Venice or Lombardy. These two fair provinces cost Austria in the past too much blood and treasure to leave any room for a desire to win them back ; all the less because the 800,000 Italian-speaking subjects of Austria already give her no small amount of trouble. The reconquest of Venice and Lombardy would increase the number of Italians within the black and gold boundaries by a round eight millions, which, in a country with such a mixture of population as already exists, would be an actual misfortune, compelling Austria to be always on the *qui vive*, and almost to live on a war-footing. No serious Austrian politician would therefore desire an acquisition which could only be a source of trouble to the Empire.

How far from the mind of the Austrian Government are such schemes of conquest, how anxiously they strive to live at peace with Italy and avoid every possibility of discord, has been shown for many years past ; for they have evinced a readiness to meet and even yield to the

wishes of Italy which has degenerated at times into loss of self-respect, tending to injure the reputation of the Monarchy and to achieve results very wide of its aim. The following instance may serve to illustrate the complaisance of the Imperial and Royal officials. In the Luna Park, one of the Viennese places of entertainment, a diorama was exhibited which represented the sea-fight at Lissa. The Italian ambassador appears to have been displeased by this reminder of the severe defeat suffered by his own navy, and he considered himself justified in protesting against this performance, though it was unattended by the slightest demonstration against Italy. The Austrian Government hastened to satisfy his wishes, and arranged that in future the performance should be announced as a 'Sea-fight,' instead of 'Battle of Lissa.' This action on the part of Austria can only be seen in its true light if we consider that no one was less justified in making such a demand than Italy, where for several years no opportunity has been neglected for demonstrating against Austria by every possible means. Until quite recently, the Austrian Government benevolently closed one eye—or both—to Irredentist manifestations within the Austrian dominions. It was only when the insolence thus encouraged showed a tendency to pass into actual treason that the Austrian authorities felt themselves compelled to treat the matter rather more seriously, though even now the measures taken at headquarters by no means correspond to the seriousness of the situation. The Government even sent a subvention to the National Exhibition in Capo d' Istria, which made no secret of its Irredentist tendencies.

In Albania, too, Austria has shown the same misplaced and excessive politeness towards Italy and has manifested unexampled *naïveté*, introducing as the language for instruction in the national schools founded with Austrian money, not German or even Croatian, but Italian.

On this point Baron Leopold Chlumecky, in his interesting and valuable book, 'Oesterreich und Italien,' expresses himself as follows :

'Were it not so deplorable, it would be possible to write a stinging satire on the fashion in which we have for many years carefully spent large sums in bringing to the Albanians a knowledge of that part of Italy where men preach hatred

and hostility to their former teacher, that simple-hearted monarchy, which in its shortsightedness never thought that Italy might some day stretch a hand across the water, and seize with the greater security the ground which we have so amiably prepared for her. . . . It is sad to be compelled to acknowledge, to our deep shame, that it was we ourselves who sowed the first vital seeds for the italianising of Albania.'

The consequences of this ill-advised amiability on the part of the Austrian Government have indeed already shown themselves. Italy continues to gain fresh ground in Albania, and threatens to take over not only the schools but also the sea-trade. In illustration of this Chlumecky cites this fact. The traffic with Scutari is in the hands of three navigation companies, the 'Austrian Lloyd,' the 'Ragusea,' and the Italian company 'Puglia. The variations in the respective shares of these three undertakings in the trade of this town show with convincing clearness the increase of the Italian company at the expense of the two Austrian undertakings. Between the years 1901 and 1905 the share of the Austrian Lloyd sank from 46 to 8·9 per cent., and that of the Ragusea from 40 to 14·9 per cent., while the share of the Puglia rose from 14 to 56 per cent. Surely no further proof is needed to show the peaceful disposition towards Italy of the Habsburg monarchy, and at the same time the absolute non-existence of that territorial greed and warlike disposition of which she is accused by Italy.

Nothing can be further from the wishes of the Emperor Francis Joseph and his Government than a policy of bold adventure. They have more than enough to do with the ceaseless national and social disturbances in the interior of the Empire, and have assuredly no desire to seek a quarrel with their neighbours, especially as the mere instinct of self-preservation impels them to desire an ally, or at any rate not an enemy, on their south-western frontier, so that, in the case of a conflict with Russia and her satellites in the Balkans, they may have a free hand and know that their rear, at any rate, is protected. In view of the future possibility, even probability, of this conflict, a hostile policy on the part of Austria towards Italy would be absurd. Nor are the Austrian people more eager for war with Italy than the Emperor, the Government, and the politicians, if only because they

are, as a rule, quite unaware of the antipathy with which Austria is regarded on the other side of the Alps. All the leading papers of the Empire have been striving for years past with zeal and success to throw dust in their eyes in regard to the relations of their country with Italy, so that it is not unusual to meet with even educated persons who display a surprising ignorance of this fact. In short, Austria wants nothing from Italy, and, therefore, seeks no war.

Very different is the state of things in Italy. There something is desired from Austria, and desired so ardently that the idea is contemplated of taking it by force. That this is not a mere spiteful assertion but the absolute truth can be easily demonstrated by tracing the historic development of these wishes. More than sixty years have gone by since the glorious beginnings of the Risorgimento; and the Italy of that day, which was only a geographical, not a political conception, has undergone a complete change. A mass of little unconnected states has developed into a great unified nation, one of the Great Powers. But there is one thing that has remained unchanged in Italy throughout all these years—the desire to possess Trieste and the Trentino. It is true that the original programme of the Italian nation, ‘Free to the Adriatic,’ has long ago been realised; but, not satisfied with this, they seek for more. The events which led to the accomplishment of Italian unity—an aim pursued with unerring persistency by the House of Savoy for many years—will be too fresh in the minds of English readers to need recapitulation here; but the fact may be recalled that it was just these districts, which now form part of what is called ‘Italia Irredenta,’ that were the special aim of Garibaldi and his volunteers on more than one occasion. At this moment the possession of them by Austria seems to many Italians the one obstacle which hinders the full realisation of their fifty years’ dream.

After the occupation of Rome in 1870, Italy was in a difficult and uncomfortable position, with no support from neighbours either on the east or the west. Friendly relations with Austria were opposed on account of the ancient antipathy to this country; and the grudge due to the territories still withheld was strengthened by the

Treaty of Berlin (1878), in accordance with which Austria occupied Bosnia and Herzegovina, while Italy went empty away. On the other hand, an estrangement had come about between Italy and France, which, originating in 1867, had been accentuated by the French policy in northern Africa. Under the painful impression of the occupation of Tunis by France (1881), Italy accepted the hand which the prudent calculation of Bismarck held out to her, and entered (1882) into an alliance with the German Empire and Austria-Hungary, in spite of her deep-rooted antipathy to the Habsburg monarchy. King Humbert really took the alliance seriously; and when, towards the end of the eighties of the last century, the strained relations between Germany and France seemed to threaten war, it was generally regarded as certain that in that case Italy would fight by the side of Germany against France. The movements of the Italian army also seemed to point in the same direction; for, while only a single army corps was stationed in Venetia on the Austrian frontier, two army corps, including the main force of the 'Alpini,' were stationed in Piedmont, on the French frontier.

In spite, however, of this policy, which followed the lines of the Triple Alliance, the relations between Italy and Austria-Hungary were not really friendly, and plainly revealed, on every possible occasion, that the sympathies of Italy were with Germany, and not with the second ally. During the next few years—a period which may be regarded as the honeymoon of the Triple Alliance—the Irredenta could not make much way, as King Humbert, and above all, Crispi, Bismarck's friend, whose ambition it was to become the Bismarck of Italy, held fast to the Alliance, and, like Austria-Hungary, sailed in the wake of Germany. The unlucky adventure in Abyssinia, though it led to the downfall of Crispi, did not at once alter the course of policy initiated by him, especially as Menelik found in France a promoter of his plans; and the Triple Alliance was renewed.

When Visconti-Venosta took up the reins in Italy, the relations with France improved; while the marriage of the Italian Crown Prince to the daughter of Prince Nikita of Montenegro, the Tsar's vassal in the Balkans, also paved the way for friendly relations with Russia,

from which Italy had hitherto been estranged through her adhesion to the Triple Alliance. A definite change in the attitude of Italy was not, however, effected till after the death of King Humbert, whose successor paid the first visit after his accession, not to Berlin or Vienna, but to St Petersburg. True, the Triple Alliance continued under his rule, and still continues; but, in spite of all official and semi-official assurances, no one could help seeing that the wind which blew from the Apennines was changed—that it was cool towards Germany, but icy-cold and bitter towards Austria. This enabled the Irredenta, which had for so long been forced to remain quiescent, to revive once more; and it put forth new shoots with fresh energy and truly southern luxuriance. And not only in Italy, but also in Austria, where the lax and timid attitude of the Government not only failed to check its growth, but actually fostered it, so that it was able boldly, in the light of day, to indulge in hostile manifestations, in which not only students, but even public functionaries took part (see above, pp. 136, 137).

The growth of Irredentism was favoured by several circumstances. One of these was the question of the establishment of an Italian university in Austria. This was first mooted in 1904, when a pitched battle took place between the German and Italian students at Innsbruck, and the Italian faculty-building there was completely destroyed by the German students with the assistance of a street mob. As always happens in such cases, each party tried to lay on the other the blame for these disgraceful proceedings; but in reality it rests with both, and in any case the Pan-Germans incurred the reproach of intensifying the difficulties of the situation by their brutality and intolerance. The result of these disturbances was a demand on the part of the Italians for an Italian university of their own in Austria. Thus a new and awkward question was raised, namely, whether the demand of the Italians should be granted, and, if so, where the Italian university was to be situated. The Italians wish it to be at Trieste; the Government, compliant as usual, is quite ready to agree to the university, but wishes to place it, not at Trieste, but at Roveredo in Southern Tyrol. In the interests of the Empire it would be better to disregard the demand altogether; for, since



as yet no separate university has been established for the 3,000,000 Ruthenians in Galicia, and the 1,250,000 Slovenians south of the Drave, it would not be just to establish one for the 800,000 Italians.\* And to choose Trieste for the purpose, as the Italians desire, would be sheer madness, for this would be of the greatest possible service to the Irredenta. Already a focus of Irredentism, Trieste would be transformed into a veritable nursery of treason; and, owing to its geographical position and maritime importance, such a step would involve serious danger.

The second circumstance which supplied water to the Irredentist mill was the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina by Austria-Hungary. This aroused in Italy, the 'ally,' a newspaper storm, no less violent than the passionate Austrophobe manifestations of the Belgrade, St Petersburg, London, and Paris journals. In Italy, as elsewhere, the annexation was represented as an outrageous act. I feel tempted to enter into some details concerning this burning question, which has been so completely misunderstood in foreign countries; but a full discussion of it would be outside the scope of this article. I must therefore content myself with the following remarks.

That Austria-Hungary, in view of the recent revival of Turkey, should assert her claims over lands which had been occupied for thirty years, was a matter of course, a natural preventive measure for the maintenance of her right of possession. Could anyone seriously have supposed that the Monarchy would contemplate, after such a lapse of time, the surrender of a country won by heavy sacrifices of blood and treasure, in which millions of money have been invested, and which, amid enormous difficulties, has been made accessible to civilisation and education? Would anyone expect England voluntarily to renounce Egypt, or France Tunis? In the case of no other state would the annexation have caused such an outburst. But that easy-going Austria, whose wont is so amiably to assent, should suddenly announce a will of her own and obstinately refuse to yield to that of the

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\* In the Hungarian Crown-lands, besides the Magyars, only the Croatians and Serbs have their own university (at Agram). The 7,000,000 Roumanians, Germans and Slovacks, who inhabit the rest of the country, have no place of higher learning, because the Magyar rule does not permit it.

other Powers—this was a thing for which Europe was not prepared. People had imagined that they were still dealing with the meek and mild Austria of Kálnoky and Goluchowski, the passive ally of Germany, instead of an Empire which, at last mindful of its strength, its proud past and its dignity, insisted on its own way.

The much-abused action of Austria-Hungary in the annexation crisis was in reality not only no proof of a violent disposition, but rather the very opposite. Had the policy of the Monarchy really been as arbitrary as it was supposed to be, there would have been sufficient opportunity at that time of displaying it, by inflicting a well-deserved punishment on Serbia for her insolent and defiant attitude. This might indeed have been done with impunity, for no one would have tried to hinder it. Russia had not yet recovered from the war with Japan; and Italy, apart from the fact that her military preparations were still incomplete, was hampered by the disaster of Messina. Neither of these countries, therefore, would have been in a position to check Austria. In spite of all this, she did not seize the favourable opportunity for settling accounts once for all with Serbia; and she thus showed a love of peace as genuine as it was, politically speaking, wise. Nor was this all. The conciliatory disposition of Austria-Hungary was further manifested by the payment of 54,000,000 kronen (2,250,000*l.*) to Turkey as ransom for the annexed lands, in order to avoid a conflict with that Power.

Although the annexation was a matter of course, implying no further secret intentions on the part of Austria-Hungary—as indeed was sufficiently proved by the restoration of the Sanjak of Novibazar—it called forth an attack not only from the enemies of the Triple Alliance, but even from her own ally Italy, which regarded it as an advance towards the Balkans, and a set-back to Italian aspirations after the possession of Albania. Such an anticipation was, and is, quite superfluous, since neither Austria-Hungary nor Italy, nor any other power, is within measurable distance of appropriating any portion of the existing Turkish Empire. The partition of European Turkey, which was once thought so near, has been postponed for an indefinite period, if not for ever. The newly-awakened Ottoman Empire would be able to

defend itself vigorously against any such attempts, no matter who might make them.

Italians, however, were not disposed for such sober calculations, but found in the annexation a new pretext for the old hatred of their ally. The result was a distinct recrudescence of Irredentism; and a fresh stimulus was given to the agitation which represents Austria as the mischief-maker, whose menaces force Italy to prepare for war. The object is clear enough; it is an attempt to put the 'ally' in the wrong in the eyes of Europe, and thus to justify Italian preparations.

The mode and extent of these preparations are very characteristic of the state of mind and military conception of the two states. In Italy the hatred of Austria and the national enthusiasm have tended to concentrate the financial resources of the kingdom on the single aim of increasing the armaments of the State to the highest possible pitch. With this goal before its eyes, the Italian people does not shrink from even the heaviest pecuniary sacrifices, and with praiseworthy patriotism takes upon itself heavy financial burdens. Poor as Italy is, when recently considerations of economy led to a proposal to reduce the war-budget, public opinion insisted emphatically that everything must be done which the defence of the country required. In the last few years the Italian Parliament has sanctioned the following extraordinary military estimates: in 1907, 60,000,000 *lire*; in 1908, 223,000,000; in 1909, 125,000,000, making a total of 408,000,000 (16,320,000*l.*). The main object is the reorganisation of the artillery and the completion of the fortifications on the north-eastern frontier. Besides these sums, 145,000,000 *lire* were voted for the fleet as an extraordinary estimate.\*

In startling contrast to this patriotic spirit of sacrifice, this imposing development of national vigour by Italians, stand the lamentable lack of patriotism, the foolish stinginess, of the Austrian and Hungarian Parliaments.

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\* To this must be added the enormous expense of developing the network of Italian railways, in which strategic considerations took the first place. The ordinary expenditure voted by the Italian parliament in the period 1905-'8 amounted to a milliard *lire*, besides which there was an extraordinary vote of 550,000,000 *lire* in 1908.

Far from passing extraordinary votes for the army and navy, they have for several years refused even to sanction the ordinary estimates; and matters have reached such a pitch that Baron Schönaich, the Minister of War, in the autumn of 1908, in addressing the Delegations, made use of the expression 'our decaying army.'

Even more than the army, the navy has suffered from this obstinate and disastrous economy. Ever since the days of Tegetthoff, the navy has been the step-child of both Parliaments, receiving only just sufficient grants to enable it to exist at all. Of the importance and value of a strong navy, on neither side of the Leitha has there been, until quite recently, the faintest conception; and, in view of the comparatively small coastline of the Monarchy, it was regarded as a superfluous luxury. The warning examples of Manila and Santiago de Cuba found no understanding echo in the two Parliaments; even the cannonade of Tsushima did not avail to rouse them from their lethargy. Of course, thoughtful men warned and besought them not to neglect the navy, but in vain. Such men could not obtain a hearing, for the all-powerful Press of Vienna, which is completely in the hands of Jews and biased by the anti-military ideas of 1848, closed its columns to them, and killed their words by silence. In Hungary the ruling motive was the prevailing antipathy to Austria, which, seeing in a joint military system the main hindrance to the realisation of the Magyar desire for independence, refused assent to every measure for strengthening the military forces of the State.

In these circumstances the navy of Austria-Hungary soon fell so far behind those of the other powers as to be generally regarded as a *quantité négligeable*—a state of things which called forth the bitter comment of a naval officer in high position,\* that Austria had better sell her battleships as old iron; for it was a pity to waste any money on them, unless the country would make up its mind to a thorough reconstruction of the navy. An unpleasant lesson was required to bring home this fact to the people at large. When the Young Turks retaliated

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\* Vice-Admiral Chiari, whose excellent articles, published in 'Danzel's Armee-Zeitung,' have been largely utilised in the composition of this essay. This military and political journal is the only one at Vienna which dares to speak the truth about events in Italy, and is remarkably well-informed.

for the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina by a boycott of Austrian ships and goods, and even went so far as to insult the flag and maltreat the subjects of Austria-Hungary, this Government was unable to make a suitable reply, because the excitement in Italy necessitated the presence of the whole tiny Austrian fleet, with steam up, in the Adriatic. The maritime powerlessness of the Monarchy not only resulted in considerable damage to her trade with the East, but also in the disagreeable necessity of purchasing the good-will of Turkey by paying an enormous ransom for the annexed provinces (cf. above, p. 148).

Even this unpleasant experience did not enlighten the minds of Austrian and Hungarian deputies.\* When the example of England in regard to Dreadnoughts began to be followed on the Continent, even Austria-Hungary found herself compelled to begin building these monster ships. But, as the Government dared not ask the Parliaments for the money, they resorted to an expedient characteristic of the unfortunate political conditions in Austria-Hungary. They gave orders for two Dreadnoughts to be built in the yards of the 'Stabilimento Technico' at Trieste, but without officially commissioning them, because they had not been sanctioned by Parliament; in other words, this ship-building company undertook to construct the two ships at its own risk, though in the confident expectation that the required funds would be voted retrospectively at the next sitting of the Delegations. Whether these two Dreadnoughts, which are still in course of construction, will be succeeded by two others, as was originally planned, is still doubtful, and depends on whether the Government can summon up courage to lay the estimates before Parliament.

It is difficult to understand why the mere announcement of this modest attempt to raise the Austro-Hungarian navy to a condition corresponding to the task

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\* This is proved by the statement of the deputy Steinwender, one of the Vice-Presidents of the Austrian Parliament, who said sarcastically that he could not understand why so many millions were required for the navy, since Serbia was not a naval power. That any other war than one with Serbia could threaten Austria seemed impossible to this short-sighted politician. Strange as this point of view must seem, especially to foreigners, it will not surprise those who are acquainted with the political myopia which has become typical of the Liberal German-Austrian group.

before it and the status of the Habsburg Monarchy should have given rise to such alarm in England. No doubt this is to be explained' by the nervousness produced there by the rivalry with Germany and the fact that Germany and Austria-Hungary are close allies. Our friends on the other side of the straits may set their minds at rest. No one in Austria contemplates using the Dreadnoughts against the British fleet in the Mediterranean; the sole object of their construction is self-preservation. Austria-Hungary dares not look on calmly while Italy with her fleet openly aims at the dominion of the Adriatic, which she has designated in advance *mare nostro*. She must rather strive to reduce, as soon as possible, the enormous disproportion of strength between her navy and that of Italy, so far at least as this can be done after decades of neglect. Else a day may come when not even a second Tegetthoff would avail to save her from the tragic fate of Leonidas, for already the proportion is more unfavourable to us than at the time of Lissa. The ratio of strength of Austria-Hungary to Italy at sea at the present time is 1:2·8; in 1866 it was 1:1·6. 'Nauticus' gives the following account of the navies of the two States for 1910:

Austria-Hungary.			Italy.	
		Tonnage.		Tonnage.
Battleships ready . . . . .	10	88,120	9	110,280
„ under construction . . . . .	2	29,000	4	85,500
Armoured cruisers ready . . . . .	3	18,870	9	69,700
„ under construction . . . . .	..	..	1	9,830
Protected cruisers ready . . . . .	3	7,050	5	12,320
„ under construction . . . . .	1	3,540	3	9,900
Total of ships ready . . . . .	16	114,040	23	192,300
„ „ under construction . . . . .	3	32,540	8	105,230
Grand Total. . . . .	19	146,580	31	297,530

The blame for this perilous state of things rests partly, no doubt, with credulous or unpatriotic representatives, but most of all with the Government, which, by false assertions, has lulled them into a state of unsuspecting security. The efforts now being made to redress a glaring inequality should be no cause of alarm to the rest of the world. Hostile critics, within and without our country,

who regard with disfavour the modest attempts of Austria-Hungary to develop her navy, and who look on it as a superfluous expenditure, or, as the case may be, a danger to peace, have fallen into a grave error; the very opposite is the fact. The stronger the Austro-Hungarian navy, the smaller is the probability of the otherwise inevitable war with Italy. So long as Austria-Hungary continues to be so weak at sea, Italy can cherish a well-grounded hope of compensating inevitable defeat on land by the annihilation of her enemy's sea-power, thus destroying the maritime trade of the Monarchy. But so soon as a strong Imperial fleet comes into existence, the risk of a defeat at sea must also be faced, a risk which would considerably damp Italy's desire for war and render the preservation of peace the more probable. In these circumstances the best security for peace is obviously a strong Austrian fleet in the Adriatic.

To discuss the details of the armaments of the two countries would involve too large a digression. One point, however, cannot be disregarded—the assertion made by Italy and doubtless credited in other countries, that Austria-Hungary is massing troops on the Italian frontier. The real facts are these. In the first place, there is no such massing of troops in the frontier districts as exists, for instance, on the Franco-German, Russo-German and Russo-Austrian frontiers; and the numbers adduced by Italians are nothing but the product of southern fantasy. At the same time it is true that larger reinforcements have been despatched to the frontier on the Austrian than on the Italian side. It would, however, be a mistake to see in this circumstance an aggressive tendency on the part of Austria-Hungary. The reason for these considerable reinforcements is simply the fact that, until recently, the Austrian garrisons in the border territory were by no means a match for the Italian. In order to correct this disproportion, and in view of the dangerous increase of Irredentism and of the open preparations for war on the part of Italy, it became absolutely necessary to transfer more troops to the frontier districts. This may be illustrated by a comparison between the numbers of the military units of the two nations within the frontier territory, noting that the Crown-lands immediately bordering on Italy—Tyrol,



Carinthia, the Coast-land, and the immediate hinterland of Carniola—are reckoned as frontier territory on the Austrian side; and on the Italian side the immediate border-lands, Venetia and Lombardy, i.e. the district bounded by the Ticino, the Po and the Alps. This comparison shows the following results:

Austria-Hungary.				Italy.		
	1900.	1910.	Increase.	1900.	1910.	Increase.
Battalions, including Land- wehr. . . . .	53	75	22	71	73	2
Squadrons . . . . .	8	12	4	48	55	7
Horse and field batteries . .	12	12	0	48	48	0
Mountain batteries . . . .	3	15	12	3	12	9
Garrison artillery companies	12	27	15	11	15	4

This comparison, the accuracy of which can be easily verified, shows that the Austrian reinforcements are much greater than the Italian, but that even so there is a considerable deficiency on the Austrian side, except in garrison artillery. The number of infantry battalions in the Austro-Hungarian army, in spite of all reinforcements, is less by sixteen battalions, and only if the Landwehr is included is the number of Italian battalions exceeded by two; but this excludes the battalions of the Italian mobilised militia (which ought really to be included as corresponding to the Austrian Landwehr), because no exact data are available, and because these troops are inferior to the Austrian Landwehr. In cavalry and field artillery the difference of strength is still enormous; twelve Austrian squadrons to fifty-five Italian, and twelve Austrian batteries to forty-eight Italian. And it is just this preponderance of Italian cavalry and field artillery in the frontier territory that proves the aggressive character of the Italian disposition of troops.

Yet, in spite of the smaller proportion of strength on the Austrian side in the frontier territory, this country is far the stronger by land, as a result of the great numerical superiority of the population—fifty millions to thirty-five. A comparison of the total strength of the two armies brings out the result shown on the following page. For this reason Italy is compelled, if she wishes to enter on the struggle with Austria with any hope of success, to

seek for allies. This she has done with skill and success, and has won the favour of two old foes of the Monarchy

Number of Military units for 1911.	Austria-Hungary.	Italy.
Battalions (including Austrian Landwehr)	679	350
Squadrons	353	145
Cavalry and field batteries	264	190
Heavy batteries	15	—
Mountain	46	27
Garrison companies	72	78
Engineer	87	66

—Serbia and Montenegro. That she hopes also for the alliance of Russia the days of Racconigi have shown.

One question remains to be answered. Is there no hope that this unsatisfactory relation between Austria-Hungary and Italy, which is such a menace to the peace of Europe, may improve in the course of time? Is war between the two Powers really inevitable? The answer is very simple: it depends on Italy alone. The Habsburg Monarchy will certainly avoid everything which could transform the latent conflict into an open one; for, as has already been shown, she wants nothing from Italy, and cherishes no hatred of her. And, in view of possible complications elsewhere, a war with Italy would be most unwelcome.

It would, however, be exceedingly optimistic to expect as much of Italy. Nor would it be less optimistic to hope that the influence of Germany, the third member of the Alliance, will restore a good understanding between the alienated allies. The influence of Germany on Italy has long been on the wane. Italy has long ceased to see in Germany the helper of 1866 and the benefactor of 1870; in her eyes Germany is only the friend of hated Austria, who assists her Balkan policy and protects her against Russia. The bond which still links Italy with the German Empire is now a burdensome fetter which keeps her from moving as she pleases. When Herr von Bethmann-Hollweg, after his visit to Italy, announced through his organ, the 'Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung,' that the consciousness of this alliance had taken such deep root in the Italian people that it had become, as it were, a matter of course, he made a

statement to which the events in Italy daily give the lie, and of whose untruth no one probably is more convinced than the Chancellor himself. To expect an improvement in the relations between Austria-Hungary and Italy through the mediation of Germany is a mere dream.

But would it not be possible to improve these relations by a partial satisfaction of the Italian demands, for instance, by the cession of Southern Tyrol? Such a question might be put by a pacifically disposed politician. The answer is supplied by Pellegrini's book '*Verso la Guerra*,' which in speaking of this possibility says :

'If there could be a politician or a Government in Italy that would consent to it, it would be swept away by the outbreak of a revolution; for we do not want to receive the Trentino—which will and must in any case fall to us at the next regrouping of the Powers—as a charitable alms. Geographical, ethnographical, historical and military reasons compel us to be masters of the Trentino, Trieste and Istria, and also to enforce a renunciation by Austria of her aspirations in the Balkans. This, and this alone, is the indispensable condition of a peaceful understanding with Austria.'

It will be seen that the demands made by Signor Pellegrini from Austria on behalf of his country are by no means small. They mean no less than the renunciation by the Austrian Monarchy of its one large commercial harbour and its one large military harbour; and this would involve the abandonment of her rank as a Great Power, and her degradation to the position of a circumscribed inland state. No reasonable politician, not even the worst foe of Austria, would think it possible that she would commit political suicide in this fashion for the *beaux yeux* of Italy. Of course, these are only the demands of Signor Pellegrini; but everything tends to show that he does not merely give expression to his own personal opinions, but also to those of his countrymen, in so far as they are politicians. But, since they demand from Austria conditions impossible of acceptance, their demand is really for war. Well, Austria-Hungary does not seek it, but neither does she fear it.

AUSTRIACUS,

Art. 8.—THE NATIONAL TRUST AND PUBLIC AMENITIES.

1. *The National Trust for Places of Historic Interest or Natural Beauty*. Report for 1909–1910. Published at the office of the Trust, 25 Victoria Street, Westminster.
2. *Scapa: A Record of Work and Thought intended to serve as a Handbook for the use of members and others interested*. No. X, September 1909. Printed for the Society for Checking the Abuses of Public Advertising, by Edwin Trim and Co., Wimbledon.
3. *An Act to authorise Local Authorities to make Bye-laws respecting the exhibition of Advertisements*. London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1907.
4. *An Act to incorporate and confer powers upon the National Trust for Places of Historic Interest or Natural Beauty*. London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1907.
5. *The Age of Disfigurement*. By Richardson Evans. London: Remington, 1893.
6. *An Inventory of the Historical Monuments in Hertfordshire*. Published for the Royal Commission on Historical Monuments (England). London: H.M. Stationery Office, 1910.

WE live in a world in which few advantages are to be had without involving some disadvantages. The immense increase in the wealth and population of this country during the last sixty or seventy years is probably the greatest contribution ever made to the energy, abundance, and pleasantness of human life during the whole history of Europe. But Great Britain is not a very large island; indeed, it is a very small one for the accommodation of some forty millions of human beings. And as it happens also to be a land of long and glorious national life, and as many parts of it are endowed with great beauty of natural scenery, there is obvious danger lest the expansion in the numbers of the inhabitants should destroy many of the visible records of the great past, and much of that natural beauty, which, equally with those great memories, is among the most precious parts of the inheritance of the British race. Something must be destroyed; that everyone recognises. You cannot have the vast city of Glasgow and an absolutely clear and

beautiful Clyde; you cannot have a London which is the centre of the business of the world and retain all the beautiful houses that Wren and his school built for the city merchants after the great fire, still less the beautiful gardens in which some of them stood.

But much has been destroyed that might have been preserved; no one doubts that either. Till quite lately, the fact that a building was of architectural or historical interest was hardly considered at all when space was wanted for wider streets or new buildings, and something had to be demolished to provide it. It is only about twenty years ago that, in order to widen the Strand, it was actually proposed to destroy its two fine churches—almost the only feature of architectural distinction that famous street then possessed. The minds of the enterprising tradesmen who agitated in favour of this scheme worked in quite a simple way. The argument was, first, that the traffic in the Strand was congested; second, that it could only be relieved by widening the street; third, that this could only be accomplished by demolishing something; fourth, that each side of the street was occupied by shops, to demolish which would interrupt business for a few months; fifth, that to demolish the church in the middle would only interrupt religious service therein for ever. The conclusion was obvious; the church was the thing to destroy. No such question as whether a church, as a church, had not a better claim to preservation than a shop, as a shop; whether these churches were not exceptionally interesting specimens of the work of the most crowded and glorious hour architecture has ever known in an English city; whether they were not the homes of great memories, one of them being the place 'where,' as Carlyle said, 'Samuel Johnson still worshipped in the era of Voltaire'—no such questions as these were so much as considered. The only things considered were pounds, shillings, and pence, the convenience of the moment, and the shortsighted views of the so-called 'practical man.'

This was the situation as it existed only a quarter of a century ago. The country was being rapidly covered with new houses, and little or no attempt was being made to secure that this inevitable process destroyed as few as possible of the historic buildings which embody

the memories of the nation, and did as little damage as could be to the natural beauty of landscape, which is one of its greatest present possessions. It is common knowledge that a great improvement has taken place since those days. Loss still occurs, of course. Crosby Hall is removed; Bath Street at Bath, one of the few streets in England that form part of an architectural design, is in course of destruction; the town of Berwick has endeavoured to destroy its ancient walls; and the Corporation of Croydon has on several occasions tried to obtain powers to pull down the Whitgift Hospital, almost the only building of interest in that town. Such things still happen. But they no longer happen without protest. They now always arouse indignant opposition; and that opposition is more and more often successful. Turn over the files of the 'Times' of thirty years ago, and you will scarcely find one allusion in a year to these questions. To-day no one reads a newspaper carefully for a single month, we might almost say for a single week, without having them forced upon his attention. The preservation of the Lake District; the protection of a country church from unwise restoration; the attempt to save a poet's cottage, a group of seventeenth or eighteenth century almshouses, a famous piece of coast scenery—these and such as these are among the most familiar topics in all the intelligent newspapers. The whole atmosphere, in fact, is changed. The old narrow views on these subjects, however frequently held, are now seldom openly avowed. A new and more intelligent public opinion has been created, is active in making itself felt, and is too powerful to be ignored.

The most conspicuous outward sign of this change is the foundation and development of the National Trust. Cause and consequence are often inextricably entangled; and it would not be easy to say how far the new public opinion is due to the work of the Trust, and how far, on the other hand, the growth of the Trust is due to the change in the attitude of the public. It is, at any rate, clear that the Trust met a real want from the first; and the rapid extension of its work proves that it has met it in a way that has gained public confidence. Founded in 1895 by Miss Octavia Hill, Canon Rawnsley, Sir Robert Hunter, and others, it at once embraced both those branches, to

which we have been alluding, of the work of preservation. It was named The National Trust for Places of Historic Interest or Natural Beauty.

The two claims of history and beauty were thus equally recognised from the first ; and, indeed, they are not very easily separated, for they constantly overlap. Even if Carlyle were as great a man as Wordsworth, it would still be difficult not to care more for Dove Cottage than for the dingy little house in Cheyne Row. One landscape differs from another in glory ; and its glory is often one of association as much as of beauty. The 'noble down' of Freshwater may not be the finest of English downs ; but it may be the best worth keeping uninjured and untouched for the sake of the poet whose cross crowns its top. There are a thousand moors as wild as Culloden ; but there is only one that seems to keep, in its very forlornness, a memory of the last act in the tragedy of the Stuarts. The National Trust, at any rate, recognised from the first the kinship of the two claims. It has served each with equal loyalty ; and each finds representation in the constitution of the Council as settled by its Articles of Association and confirmed by the Act of Parliament (The National Trust Act, 1907) which has now given public recognition to its work.

The Council consists of fifty members, of whom half are nominated by certain public bodies which command general respect and afford a guarantee of continuity of general policy. It is just conceivable, however unlikely, that the general body of members of the Trust might degenerate and act inconsistently with the objects for which the Society was founded ; but that danger, remote as it is, is entirely averted by the fact that such bodies as seven of the universities, the Trustees of the British Museum and the National Gallery, the Society of Antiquaries, the Linnean Society, and others, control half the membership of the Council. And these official members include representatives of both sides of the work. Nature, independent of history and art, may be said to speak through the Linnean and Botanic Societies, through the Commons Preservation and Selborne Societies, and through the Entomological Society. The point of view of landscape is represented by the National Gallery and the landscape painters of the Royal Academy



and the Water Colour Society; history by the Society of Antiquaries; architecture by the Royal Institute of British Architects and the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings; while the nine representatives of the universities and the British Museum may be said to stand equally for all these interests.

It is evident that, with this constitution, the Trust had from the first a strong governing body. It was never, what so many societies have had to be, a mere band of private enthusiasts. It started at once with a public character and position. The late Duke of Westminster became its first President, and took an active part in its work. He was succeeded by Lord Dufferin, on whose death H.R.H. the Princess Louise, who had always shown great interest in the efforts of the Trust, accepted the Presidency. She still holds the office, and has lately shown her belief in the value of what it is doing by choosing one of its schemes as her own memorial to her brother, King Edward VII. Part of the Borrowdale property lately purchased by the Trust was bought by the Princess herself, and at her desire will be associated with King Edward's name and memory.

Under such auspices and with the constant and active support of the most influential part of the Press, the short career of the Trust has been one of unbroken and rapid advance. It is true that its roll of members has never been very large, and that its income is even now very small. From the last Report it seems that the total annual amount received from subscriptions is only 450*l.*, a sum quite inadequate to provide for the management of some fifty different properties, the frequent acquisition of others, and the inevitable expenses of a Society which is consulted almost daily by people from all parts of the country and which has, as part of its duty, the formation and guidance of a sound public opinion on the subjects that come within its province. It seems incredible, considering the general sympathy with which work of this kind is now regarded, that there should be any difficulty, if proper efforts were made, in securing for it a regular annual income of 1000*l.* or 1500*l.* a year, which would be enough to enable it to meet its office expenses, carry on its propaganda work, and buy the small houses or bits of fine country which are often well worthy of

preservation but not of sufficient size or fame to engage widespread interest on their behalf.

But, if the amount of regular income forthcoming for the Trust has been small, it has evidently succeeded in attracting a very large body of occasional supporters. This is plain from the fact that, while it has only been in existence fifteen years, it is now the owner of some fifty different properties, including over three thousand acres of land, and fifteen buildings or houses of 'historical interest.' Many of these have been given outright by their owners, and their value is not stated; but for the purchase of those that have been bought it appears that the Trust has succeeded in raising over 40,000*l.* from the public, a proof that its friends are not limited to its list of annual subscribers.

The Society met a want that had long been felt. People wanted to secure the preservation of places in which they were interested, perhaps a cliffside like the Barmouth Cliff, which was the Trust's first possession, or an old building like the pre-Reformation Priests' House at Alfriston, which was its second; but there was a difficulty about finding the right body or person to hold the ownership. One vicar, and even two churchwardens, may be competent, sympathetic, and trustworthy guardians; but human nature, to say nothing of restored churches, warns us that their successors may be just the reverse. Private trustees, directed to nominate suitable successors, often fail to do so; and their executors nominate unsuitable ones. Elected public bodies, though they have lately done a great deal of good work in these directions, are, after all, not chosen for their interest in history, architecture, or natural beauty. They are necessarily subject to the caprices of opinion current among their electors, who, as at Ayr, may be quite indifferent to the fate of their poet's 'Auld Brig,' or, as at Malvern, may be ready to debase their noble hills by running an ugly and vulgar toy railway up them.

No perfect security for uninjured preservation existed before the foundation of the National Trust; and none at all equal to that afforded by the Trust exists to-day. The reason is simple. Private trustees may be ideal, but they are mortal and afford no guarantee of continuity. Public bodies are, indeed, immortal, but from this point

of view they are never ideal. It is not their fault. They are not chosen from this point of view. But the Council of the National Trust is. It consists, and must always consist, of people who have joined it because they care about history or natural scenery, and can have no other object with regard to the properties placed in their charge except the single one of preserving them intact, with their history telling its tale unobstructed and unobscured, with their natural beauty uncorrected and unadorned. The Trust will not 'restore' its medieval houses; it will not make tea-gardens of the Cornish coast or the Cumberland Fell; and it will not plant fancy shrubs on Hindhead. There lies the secret of its success. It, and it alone, has provided the ideal and immortal owner for places that have for one reason or another some sort of ideal and immortal interest.

It is the word 'owner' on which stress should be laid. The Council of the Trust has often been invited to undertake the care of properties on behalf of other owners. It has always declined. That is often enough a useful work, but it is not the special work of the Council. The essence of the idea of the Trust is the most absolute security available under the law of the land; and it has been felt from the first that this involves an invariable policy of ownership. The Council is always glad, as in the recent case of Mr Wills's splendid gift of the famous Leigh Woods near Bristol, to undertake that the management of the property shall be in the hands of a local committee; but it accepts no property as to which it does not possess the ultimate control, and that control involves ownership. Few will doubt that it has been wise in this policy. The Trust bears every year a heavier national responsibility. Its name is looked on as an absolute security for the interests it undertakes to protect. It is only as an owner that it can effectually guarantee their safety.

How varied these interests are a glance at the list of properties appended to the Report is sufficient to show. They include big things like the two great properties in the Lake district, or the large group of common lands in the Hindhead and Haslemere country, and very small things like the four acres of Wicken Fen in Cambridgeshire, or the several bits of hill-top in Kent. The interests

of history are represented by such properties as the sixteenth century Joiners' Hall at Salisbury, the old Court House at Long Crendon, the fifteenth century gatehouse of Westbury College near Bristol, the ancient post-office at Tintagel, said to be a building of the fourteenth century, the early village market house at Winster in Derbyshire, and Coleridge's cottage at Nether Stowey in Somerset. Several of these are also of considerable architectural interest; but the principal architectural possession of the Trust is the noble Tudor mansion known as Barrington Court, which came into its hands through the generosity of the late Miss Woodward. The scientific side of the study of nature finds its place in the list through items like the thirty acres of primeval fen presented by Mr N. C. Rothschild, and the land near Marlborough in which lie some of the famous stones called the Grey Wethers. The æsthetic side, 'natural beauty' pure and simple, is the most liberally represented of all, with the great tracts of land near Derwentwater and Ullswater, the Cheddar cliffs which are the glory of Somerset, Barras Head near Tintagel, where the Cornish coast is at its grandest, and various tracts of fine open country in Kent and Surrey, near enough for the Londoner to reach in a day, far enough off for him to feel, when he gets there, that it is the real thing, the pure and unspoiled life of nature, that lies before him.

Incidentally, in this way, the National Trust has done a great deal for the open-space movement, of which some of its founders, and notably Miss Octavia Hill, had been among the pioneers. That is not the primary business of the Trust: and it may be doubted whether the Council would be wise to accept many such gifts as that of the children's playground at Knowle, which possesses no 'historic interest,' and probably no more 'natural beauty' than nine fields out of ten throughout the country. It will do better to keep to its own stricter business, only giving a sufficiently liberal interpretation of its objects to allow of its including among them places of natural interest, not perhaps strictly historical or specially beautiful, but possessing like the Sarsen Stones or the Burwell Fen, a mixture of both claims, and deserving preservation also on scientific grounds.

For the rest, the Trust will, of necessity, do splendid

service to the cause of open spaces, indirectly, while pursuing its own proper business. Every hill-top it acquires is an open space as well as a place of beautiful scenery. The great estate of the Trust in the Lake District is the largest absolutely secure open space the country possesses; the largest and also the best. For the open spaces of the Trust are never mere open spaces. They are always, or should always be, much more than that; not mere tracts of land uncovered with houses, with grass or trees upon them and open sky above them, precious as even they are where nothing else can be got; not derelict spots which the builder has passed by in scorn, but places high above him, out of his reach, places where men realise in its fullest power the mysterious presence of beauty in Nature, to which something in themselves mysteriously responds; not ordinary places of mere rest and health, good as they are, but extraordinary places, where the human mind and soul receive unusual stimulus, and men discover in themselves sympathies and powers, of the possession of which, on common ground, they were quite unconscious.

That is the work of the National Trust at its highest, answering to all the calls of health and fresh air and free movement, but going far beyond them. The higher life of man, as all poets have known, is largely dependent on two things, his imagination and his memory. It is no small service that the Trust has begun to render to the English nation, this of securing to it some part of that noble natural landscape, by which, more perhaps than by anything, the imaginative powers are stimulated, and preserving some fragments of those greatest of all records of the past, the records written in brick and stone, in the presence of which, more movingly than anywhere else, a people recalls the dim centuries of its past, and realises that continuity of life, which for nations, as for individuals, is realised only by the divine gift of memory.

How infinitesimally small a part of its full and proper task the Trust has yet been able to accomplish, anyone who has eyes and cares for these things can see in the course of a journey over almost any fifty miles of English road. And unhappily he will see another thing. For there is another side to this subject, and our traveller will

be lucky if, in the course of his fifty miles, he does not see, not only something to be done, but something, and indeed a great deal, to get undone. He may see an old house, an old bridge, a mountain stream, which he would like to have safeguarded, without any disturbance of its present use or occupation, in the hands of the National Trust. But he is only too certain to see, not to be able to escape seeing, houses and fields and hedgerows, disfigured and vulgarised by flaring posters or metal plates, shrieking at him, as he passes, some cocoa vendor's lie about his cocoa, or some tyre-maker's or whisky-distiller's false and fulsome praise of his tyres or his whisky. It is almost useless to preserve tiny tracts of country of exceptional beauty if the ordinary country, which is all we see every day, and which has that ordinary beauty that only needs the opened eye to become precious too, is to be hidden or defiled by the inroads of a commercialism which is as unintelligent as it is tasteless and selfish.

Indignation at this system is growing; and, since the passing of the Advertisements Regulation Act of 1907, it is an indignation which is no longer either hopeless or helpless. The effect of that Act, put briefly, is to enable any local authority to make bye-laws restricting or preventing the exhibition of advertisements which 'affect injuriously the amenities of a public park or pleasure promenade,' or 'disfigure the natural beauty of a landscape,' subject to the proviso that existing advertisements are to have five years' grace. This is a general law which any county or borough council can put in force. The town of Dover, and some other towns, have still stronger special Acts; the Dover one providing that no advertisements may be erected without the licence of the Corporation, except those within the window of any house or building and those which refer to any entertainment to be held in the house or on the land on which they are exhibited. Probably in a few years a general Act will be provided on some such lines as this.

Meanwhile the immediate need is to set the present law in motion; and this the County of Westmoreland and four or five other counties and some twenty towns have already done. The Westmoreland by-laws provide that 'no advertisement shall be exhibited in any place visible from any highway or public path, or any hoarding, stand,

or other erection so placed as to disfigure the natural beauty of any landscape,' in certain specified districts which include all the most famous parishes of the county, such as Patterdale, Grasmere, Langdale, Ambleside, Troutbeck, and Windermere. This prompt and vigorous action on the part of the county which stands perhaps to suffer more than any other, because it has the most precious heritage of all to defend, will, it may be hoped, soon be imitated by all, as it has already been by its neighbours, Cumberland and Lancashire. Others may not have so much to lose from the spread of the plague, but all have much to gain from its control or extermination.

Is there still anyone who asks why? Is there anyone who has yet to learn that the common beauty of the country, of its hills and streams, its trees and hedgerows, is among the most valuable possessions of the nation, valuable even from the point of view of money, but far more so as the most fruitful source of imagination, one of the simplest, best, and most universal of pleasures, and perhaps the most unfailingly perennial of all the fountains of patriotism? A man will, if need be, die for what he can think of with love at the last. For that he needs no very rare beauty; the quiet Ouse will be enough, if he does not know the Wye; some row of finely-proportioned Georgian houses, if he does not know the High Street of Oxford. But no man would care to die for a place where his thoughts were never allowed to be his own, and were never such as he desired, or can wish to remember.

At this moment, in many of our cities, especially in their outskirts, it is only by closing one's eyes that one can have any thoughts or fancies of one's own. Just as the road approaches Bath, it may be, or Gloucester, and the eye would like to feast itself with the sight, and the mind with the memories, of those famous and beautiful cities, mind and eye are alike robbed of their freedom, and forced to attend to blatant assertions about soap or boots, which the eye resents as ugly and offensive, the mind as an intrusion and an impertinence, the moral sense as almost certainly a parcel of commercial lies. For there is a moral question too. When a man distributes all over the country fifty thousand repetitions of the statement that his tea or his toffee is the best the world produces, he is saying fifty thousand times a thing



which he cannot know to be true, and which he almost certainly knows to be false. That in itself is demoralisation on a rather large scale. But it is not only for the people who tell lies that lies are bad. They are bad also for the people who hear or read them. Bad if they believe them, because they are deceived; but much worse if they don't believe them, because they are then forced to the conclusion that lying is a recognised and accepted way of doing business. And, as morals are unfortunately, like clothes, largely an affair of imitation, it is no very long step from discovering that many successful and respected persons lie as loudly and publicly as they can, to the adoption of these principles in humbler and less profitable walks of life.

But the ethical issue, serious as it is, is not the main one, for it only covers a part of the field. Many of the most objectionable advertisements consist of nothing but the bare name of the article advertised, which at least cannot be a lie. If we find these offensive, it is not on moral grounds. On what ground then? Broadly speaking, it is on the ground, now definitely recognised by several Acts of Parliament, that the eye has as good a right to protection as the ear. If a shopkeeper runs after a person down the street, persistently shouting in his ear that he sells a pill or a waterproof of exceptional merit, the law will protect the sufferer and punish the offender. Even if a man stands in his garden and bawls his wares at every passer-by, he can be abated as a nuisance. Why? Because the King's subjects have a right to pass undisturbed along the King's highway. They have a right to hear each other's voices so far as is permitted by the necessary exigencies of the traffic, that is, the noise caused by other people using the highway with equal lawfulness. They are not to be forced to stop their ears with cotton wool by avoidable and aggressive noises. Nor should they, it is now admitted, be forced to close their eyes. The law, which forbids a man to persist in forcing himself upon the attention of reluctant ears, has now begun to recognise that it must equally protect the reluctant eyes.

But, it will be said, many a man builds a house which I am unwillingly forced to see as I pass along the roadside. Is he to be forbidden to build his house till he is sure of

pleasing me? No; for there is a fundamental distinction between building a house and setting up a bill-board or covering your walls with enamelled plates. It is this. I may not like the house, but it does not address itself to me. It is built without reference to me, and, far from insisting on my attention, is indifferent to my presence altogether. The other—the poster or plate—is only there because I am there, has no existence except in reference to me, insists, so far as it can, on being looked at, will not let me pass by in peace if it can prevent it. The difference is clear. It is the difference between a tailor quietly telling his wife, as they walk together in his garden, that he is certain his style and fit are unsurpassed, and the same tailor leaning over the wall to bawl this information at me as I walk by. I may hear him in the first case, but can have no complaint. The essence of the offence lies in the assault, whether upon eye or ear. A comparatively small noise made with the purpose of forcing me to hear it may be an offence, when one ten times as loud made for lawful purposes without reference to me may give me no ground of complaint.

That, at least, is the primary consideration. The roads and streets are public property made for citizens to pass along; and they are entitled, in doing so, to protection from deliberate assaults either upon their ears or upon their eyes. The fact that a man owns or occupies property abutting upon the road gives him no more right to assail the eyes or the ears than the noses of travellers upon it. This is the elementary police stage of protection; and it should be secured with as little delay as possible. The ancient legal maxim '*Sic utere tuo ut non alienum laedas*' must be applied in this field as already in those of sound and smell. A man may own or occupy his house and land for his own use and enjoyment, not for making assaults on other people.

A word should perhaps be said here in reply to an objection sometimes taken to this line of argument. You complain, it is said, of a man putting up a bill or a coloured plate on an ugly blank wall. Why? What harm is he doing? There was no pleasure in looking at the wall before; indeed, there was on it nothing whatever to look at, nothing for the eye to take hold of at all. The advertiser has simply put something where nothing

was before—a bit of colour, sometimes even of pretty colour, where there was a colourless blank. We have allowed the defence to take a very exceptional case; but even so the answer is obvious. The essence of the offence lies, once more, in the assault upon the eye, mind, and memory. Possibly, though not probably, the colour might be an ornament if it were mere colour, if it had no letters on it, or if the letters were Arabic or Chinese. The annoyance lies in their being English and intelligible, in making me hear something which I do not want to hear. My study may be a dull room, but I may still reasonably prefer having it to myself to sharing it with even the politest and most superior bagmen interrupting my privacy by competing for my custom. The public road is not my own; I am bound to be ready to share it with those who are using it for the purposes for which it was made; but I am not bound to be ready to share it with people who are only there to assail me.

But, we shall be told, you must not check advertisements, for advertisements are good for trade. To that it must be answered that, even if it were true that all advertisements were good for trade, which it is not, that is not in this case, any more than in others, by itself a final argument in their favour. A thing may be good for trade but so bad for something else that we do not hesitate to forbid it. It is questionable whether child-labour was not good for trade. It is probable that it might be 'good for trade' to build over Windsor Park or Hyde Park, or to sell Westminster Abbey to an American syndicate for re-erection in Chicago. Again, if advertisements are good for trade, and all things that are good for trade ought to be encouraged, why don't we allow bill-boards in St James's Park? It is plain, then, that we already recognise that advertisements are objectionable in certain places; and, after all, what reformers ask is simply that we should carry this view a little further.

But, in fact, it is very far from true that all advertisements are good for trade. When two firms compete with each other in efforts to make the best and cheapest pair of boots, one firm may be ruined and another become very prosperous, but in any case the result to the public is pure gain. When they compete by advertisement, one or other may make a fortune, but the public cannot

possibly gain anything. Indeed, it loses. The boots are not made gradually better as they are in the other case; the issue is now decided, not by good work, but by the unfortunate tendency of human nature to believe in the familiar. Colman's mustard may or may not be the best on the market; in either case it is asked for, not because people have found it out to be the best, but because it is the only mustard they have heard of. What possible public gain is there in that? None whatever. It is not good for trade, even in the narrowest sense of the phrase, for no more mustard is bought than before; only the mustard that is bought is bought on a misleading ground, and one man's mustard is bought to the exclusion of a hundred others.

There is further a great waste of energy entailed by the system. For all the people employed in the advertisement side of the effort are employed in what is from a national point of view absolutely useless labour. Even if the advertisements were all harmless, and did not produce national loss through national disfigurement, the system would still be a system of waste, the diversion of so much capital and labour to the production of what is neither wealth for the body nor wealth for the mind. And this diversion, it is to be remembered, is often forced on reluctant traders. If a man's rivals take to advertising, he is forced to waste his time and money, and add to the public injury, by doing so too. There is no doubt that a very large number of the advertisers would themselves welcome restrictions which would save them from the necessity of doing what they have no desire to do.

Again, it is said that publicity is the essence of business. The modern world wants to know quickly what is going on, where it can get what it desires, where it can sell what it has to sell. That is perfectly true; but to imagine that this argument provides a defence for the existing chaos of bill-boards is to be the victim of an extraordinary delusion. The present system does not tell anyone what he wants to know; it tells him what somebody else has an interest in wishing him to believe. There is clearly a fundamental distinction, constantly as it is overlooked, between a notice which tells me that Mr A. will play Hamlet at the Royal Theatre on Monday at 8, and one which tells me that Mr A. is the greatest

Hamlet the town has ever seen. The one announces a fact which many people are interested in hearing; the other merely proclaims Mr A.'s opinion of his own merits as an actor, a matter of little interest and no value to anyone except Mr A. The one performs a public service; the other does a public injury by inducing people to think of Mr A. more highly than they ought to think.

The same distinction holds all through. In the first place no one wants to interfere with the greatest of all methods of advertisement, that of the newspaper Press; and the reason is obvious. The cases are not parallel. Many of us may be disgusted at finding a page of advertisement stuck in the middle of our 'Punch,' but we have our remedy. We cannot be compelled to buy 'Punch.' No newspaper advertisement can compel us to see it as we are compelled to see a poster in the Strand or a blue and yellow metal plate on a country road.

Again, even in the matter of posters, no reformer asks for a system in which there would be any difficulty in making known announcements of approaching events, auctions, meetings, performances, and the like. And no one would wish to make it impossible for a person, as he enters a town, to discover where the hotel or garage is, or where any particular sort of tradesman lives. But it is obvious that two or three large boards placed in spots selected by the local authorities at the various entrances to the town would give the traveller all the information he desired in a moderate compass without being an eyesore to the community. He may not desire any information; in that case, under this system, he would only have to look the other way when he came to the public board, and for the rest of his journey he could look where he pleased and pass on his way unmolested. Under the present system he has no escape; he is forced to listen to a chorus of tradesmen, shrieking on every side of him, none of them perhaps giving him the information he wants; and if he be a man of any sensitiveness, he is infuriated by the senseless anarchy which makes it impossible to enter a modern English town except through a whirlpool of screaming vulgarity.

Finally, it is said that to restrict the bill-posting business is to deprive a large number of people of employment. As to that two replies may be made. The

less important is that employment is not in itself a sacred thing. All improvements—notably the introduction of railways and the invention of motor-cars—throw a certain number of people out of employment. But the progress of the whole community cannot be subordinated to the private interest of a few. Only, of course, the few must be fairly treated. No wise man would, even if he could, stop all bill-posting to-morrow by a single sudden decree. The recent Act, accepted by the Billposters' Association, gave five years' grace to even the most offensive existing boards. Nor does anybody look forward to forbidding posters altogether. All that is suggested is that the present orgy of assault upon the eyes should be regulated and restricted. This reform, like others, can and should only come gradually, with the least possible injury to existing interests. But these interests should remember the ultimate claim of the interest of the whole community. And they will be wise not to forget that it was only the almost quixotic loyalty shown by the promoters of the Bill of 1907 to their agreement with the bill-posters which prevented that Bill becoming law in the much stronger form desired, and at first insisted upon, by the House of Commons.

If such is the feeling in this country, we may congratulate ourselves also upon the symptoms of a change in public opinion abroad. The evil of advertisement may still grow, as it notably does, alas, in France and Italy: but the indignation is growing still faster, and will certainly overtake it before very long. The indications of this are to be seen on every side. In France, where public buildings and even churches have been frequently degraded by advertisements, two important laws were passed in 1906 and 1909, the one protecting all public buildings from such abuse, the other providing for the preparation of a list of properties, to remain in private hands if possible, whose preservation is declared a public interest from the artistic or picturesque point of view. It will be interesting to watch the working of these laws. At present it must be admitted that the condition of the line from Calais to Paris is a public blot on the æsthetic reputation of the French people; and so, to a far worse extent, is the condition of many

roads in the Riviera. In the last number of the 'Journal of the English Society for Checking the Abuses of Public Advertising,' a French artist has made a more telling protest than any words can make by two drawings of 'Mentone as it was' and 'Mentone as it will be—unless.' One can only hope that the new legislation will obviate the second alternative.

In Germany, or at least in Prussia, the police have powers to forbid all hoardings in particularly picturesque neighbourhoods; and in most towns advertisements may only be affixed to appliances provided for the purpose, owners of property being only allowed to advertise their own business on their premises. In Buenos Ayres, to take an instance from a big city further afield, no outdoor advertising is allowed except by the leave of the municipality. Even in the United States the gigantic evil is arousing serious resistance; and some of the cities have adopted methods of partial protection. The American Civic Association is actively working on public opinion; and incidents like the successful activity of the Business Men's Club in Cincinnati in reducing the number of bill-boards by appeals to bill-posters and owners of property may be noticed as showing the direction in which opinion is moving.

In England the special Acts obtained by Edinburgh and Dover and the general Act of 1907 have already been mentioned. Another striking sign of the growing feeling on this subject is the fact that not only have several large landowners taken steps to protect their estates from degradation by advertisements, but also—what is evidence of wider feeling—on the properties now being laid out on the system of co-partnership at Hampstead, Ealing and elsewhere, no advertisements of any kind are allowed except on a proper notice-board put up for the purpose. This means that in these new towns or estates, at any rate, architecture will at last be given a fair chance. At present few things are more depressing than to see, what is often to be seen in our towns, a fine architectural design entirely robbed of any chance of creating the effect intended by the architect, because its beauty of line is broken or its scheme of colour ruined by incongruous accretions of advertisement.

But it is well to recognise such signs of changed



opinion as those just mentioned. And everyone who rejoices in them will gratefully congratulate the little society with the long name which has played the largest part in arousing public opinion, and in particular in getting the Act of 1907 passed. To congratulate that society means, of course, to congratulate Mr Richardson Evans, its indefatigable secretary, who has done nearly all its work from the beginning. It is satisfactory to hear that an effort is now being made to strengthen the society in numbers and resources, so that it may be able to extend its activities considerably without laying any further burden on its founder's too-willing shoulders.

Both the fields, then, which we have surveyed, that of prevention, as well as that of preservation, show ground for hopefulness. The country is evidently at last awake to the dangers that threaten its historical and beautiful places. The appointment of the Royal Commission on Historical Monuments was a great step forward, not taken at all before its time, which the 'Quarterly Review' may perhaps claim to have hastened by the article on 'Our Neglected Monuments,' which appeared in it in April 1905. In another ten or twenty years, one may hope, that title will have become an impossible one; and any article dealing with our historical buildings will deal with them as recorded in a national inventory and, so far as possible, safeguarded from further destruction. Meanwhile the mere fact of the appointment of the Commission is significant; it shows an altogether new spirit abroad to find the State undertaking 'to make an inventory of the ancient and historical monuments and constructions connected with or illustrative of the contemporary culture, civilisation, and conditions of life of the people in England from the earliest times to the year 1700.' The Commission has now issued the first instalment of its Report, which, after a brief account of what it has done so far, and a few recommendations, takes the form of an 'Inventory of the Historical Monuments of Hertfordshire.' The volume justifies the highest hopes that were aroused by the appointment of the Commission. It is an extremely valuable survey of the historical remains of that county, and provides, beside things more important, an ideal guide-book for the antiquary travelling through Hertfordshire. The arrangement is alpha-

betical, the unit being the parish. The 'monuments' of each parish are given under the headings of Pre-Historic or Pre-Roman, Roman, Ecclesiastical, and Secular, each of which classes has been investigated by a Sub-Commission of the whole body. There are some sixty or seventy illustrations, a useful glossary of terms employed, and a very full index. If further Reports maintain the level of this one, the country will soon have the chance of knowing its 'places of historic interest' as it has never known them before.

Action should result from knowledge. In this first Report the Commission draws attention (p. xv) to the fact that 'cases occur where it is desirable to deal at once with imperilled monuments,' and gives its opinion that 'the time has come when such cases should be dealt with by a Government Department acting with the assistance of a permanent Advisory Board.' Some friendly critics of the Report have suggested that powers for this purpose should be forthwith conferred on the Commission itself. But, though it would not be easy to find a body inspiring greater confidence, we think the Commissioners are undoubtedly right in the distinction they evidently draw between their own functions, which are those of enquiry and advice—functions of a temporary nature—and the essentially permanent function of action which necessarily belongs to a permanently constituted department of the national Government. The Parliamentary control of expenditure may, in practice, be a mere piece of antiquarian fanaticism, but it would ill become a Commission on Ancient Monuments to set the example of defying it. And there are still practical advantages in maintaining the principle that no public money is to be expended except by departments under the control of Ministers who have to justify their action before the House of Commons. The Commission has enough to do with its own business—that of collecting the facts and suggesting a policy. This alone will take years to accomplish. It would be a mistake to interrupt it with necessarily fitful and partial attempts to anticipate the work which will have to be done later—namely, that of securing the preservation of the monuments whose existence and condition this Report and its successors will have revealed.

There is no reason why the Government action it has recommended should wait till the Commission has concluded its labours. It will obviously take many years to compile inventories for all the counties on a scale equal to that now given us for Hertfordshire. No doubt the preliminary difficulties of organisation are now mainly overcome, and the rate of progress may probably be somewhat accelerated in future. But its pace must mainly depend on the amount of expert assistance the Commission is enabled to employ; and it cannot in any case be very rapid. Meanwhile, it may be hoped that the Government will devise some machinery for dealing with the urgent cases to which the Report draws attention. The Board of Works might perhaps be empowered to act temporarily till the full Report of the Commission prepares the way for the constitution of a new department for the acquisition or preservation of Historical Monuments. An enquiry should at the same time be made into the working of the recent French '*Loi pour la protection des Sites et Monuments naturels de caractère artistique*,' by which arrangements are made with owners not to destroy or injure certain places of special beauty. The Board of Works has already certain powers of co-operation with owners in the preservation of historical monuments; it might be well to consider whether these powers, at any rate, might not be extended, after the French example, to specially beautiful places.

In any case acquisition would in some cases be the only method. And, if the Board of Works were entrusted with powers of acquisition in certain cases, the State would be enabled to do on a larger scale what the National Trust has been doing on a small scale for fifteen years. But there is no likelihood, we fear, of any Chancellor of the Exchequer providing sufficient funds to cover more than the smallest fraction of the ground; and, for a longer period than the youngest of us will live to see, the National Trust may welcome the State department, if it is created, as an official ally, but must not expect to see its work done by anybody but itself. The field is large, and there will be more than room for both; and each may learn from the other. Both will need a strong and organised public opinion behind them if, amid the pressure of other claims, they are to succeed in keeping the national interest in

these questions awake, and the national purse open to provide the means of dealing with them.

Here at least the line of advance is clear, and no open resistance is made. No one in theory objects to the preservation of history and beauty. But the other side of the question, the removal of ugliness, is, it must be admitted, more controversial. Many people are interested in the maintenance of the present system of public advertisement; still more are indifferent to its abuses. Even if all were agreed as to the need of regulation, there is difference of opinion as to the best method. Some advocate taxation. But its very limited success in the countries which have adopted it, and the very obvious fact that objects taxed are inevitably objects which governments have no desire to see greatly diminished, are enough to show that the method of taxation would be at once ineffectual and dangerous. The true line of advance for reformers is that of restriction by Act of Parliament, or by municipal regulation. If the former, the goal to aim at seems to be the forbidding of all advertisements—except those referring to a trade *bona fide* carried on on the land or premises to which the advertisement is affixed. In this case a limited number of notice-boards—not more than two in a village—would be specially licensed; and on these all necessary announcements could be made. If the municipal method be adopted, the aim should be to follow the precedent of the Dover Act of Parliament, and allow no advertisements except by leave of the local authority. In either case, no advertisements should in any circumstances be allowed on any land or buildings owned by the State or any municipality. The recent Town Planning Act—another good sign—will afford excellent opportunities for the protection of new towns or districts and for discovering the best methods of regulation.

Few countries are richer than England in natural and historical interest; few suffer more from the depredations of those who disfigure and destroy, so far as their evil doings extend, its history and its beauty. It will be an eternal disgrace to the nation if the next generation does not take measures for the reverent preservation of the one, and for the reasonable but strict control and limitation of the other.

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## Art. 9.—CHATEAUBRIAND ON HIS OWN LIFE.

1. *Mémoires d'Outre-tombe*. Par François René de Chateaubriand. Nouvelle Édition avec une introduction, des Notes et des Appendices par Edmond Biré. Paris: Garnier Frères, 1909.
2. *Chateaubriand et son Groupe littéraire*. Par C. A. Sainte-Beuve. Paris: Calmann Lévy, 1878.
3. *Chateaubriand en Amérique*. Dans *Études critiques*, par Joseph Bédier. Paris: A. Colin, 1903.
4. *Au pays d'Exil de Chateaubriand*. Par Anatole le Braz. Paris: Champion, 1909.
5. *Chateaubriand and his Court of Women*. By F. Gribble. London: Chapman and Hall, 1909.

'I HAVE formed a design,' is the well-known boast of Rousseau, 'which has no precedent and which will never be imitated. My intention is to show to my fellows a man in the whole truth of nature, and that man myself.' When we remember how many others had told the story of their lives since Isocrates in his Biographical Oration professed to explain his career and his character for the instruction of contemporaries and the edification of posterity, this claim to originality may appear over-bold; and all the more so when we reflect that Rousseau did not really perform his promise. If he had described himself with unerring self-knowledge, perfect impartiality and absolute truth of detail, he would indeed have accomplished something never done in the past or likely to be achieved in the future. But what he has placed before the reader is not the real Rousseau; it is, at the best, his own conception of himself, and often not even what he thought himself so much as what he wished others to believe him to be; for a strong apologetic tendency prevails throughout the 'Confessions' and predominates in the last chapters.

Yet Rousseau's claim to originality is not baseless. The 'Confessions' mark an epoch in biographical literature. One characteristic which distinguishes them from all earlier biographies is that they are, or at least profess to be, a complete history of the author's personality, and of the circumstances which influenced its development. Events, even those which closely concern the writer, or

in which he is an actor, are dwelt upon as important only so far as they determine the growth of his character or confirm the accuracy of his self-analysis. This is very much the method of the 'psychological' novelist, of the author whose aim it is not to tell a story but to explain and analyse some specimen of human nature, and whose hero therefore, instead of being, like those of Walter Scott, a mere thread on which incidents are strung, determines by the character assigned to him what those incidents shall be, since they are intended to throw light upon and to explain to the reader the growth and nature of that character. Indeed, the connexion between the analytical autobiography and the analytical novel is so close that the boundary by which they are separated is not always easily to be discerned. Rousseau allows that, where memory fails, the autobiographer may be justified in drawing upon his imagination, provided that his inventions are consistent, or in other words harmonise with the impression which he wishes to make.

Another particular which distinguishes Rousseau from his predecessors is this, that he does not describe and examine himself as a type but as an individual. His analysis is to force us to recognise his idiosyncrasies, the qualities which, by their intensity or their singularity, distinguish and separate him from his fellow-men, and not those which he has in common with them. He is convinced that there never was, and that there never will be, his like upon earth.

This insistence on their difference from others, not less than the importance given to feelings rather than to acts, is characteristic of Rousseau and his followers. The great majority of the writers of autobiographies and memoirs, from the kings of the East who recorded their exploits in hieroglyphs and cuneiform inscriptions downwards, only sought to perpetuate the memory of what they had done or seen, and were as little concerned to enlarge upon or analyse their feelings as was Ulysses when he told his adventures in the hall of Alcinoüs. No doubt the object of some of these writers, as, for instance, of the many Roman statesmen, who, like Sulla, composed their memoirs, was apologetic. They desired to put the facts in such a light as would favourably modify the reader's view of their conduct. No doubt also the impulse

to self-glorification, which is rarely not a part of the pleasure men feel in talking about themselves, would often give a colour to their narrative. Benvenuto Cellini, for instance, wished his readers to appreciate his genius, his valour, his fundamental piety; the Cardinal de Retz his gallantry, readiness of resource and skill in intrigue; Saint-Simon his political insight and discernment of character; but we are left to draw our own inferences from the facts related. No doubt also that self-examination was no new thing. It may have been encouraged by the practice of confession in the Christian Church, but it was older even than that. The Greek philosophers, especially the Stoics, had insisted on daily self-examination. 'Before thou sleepest,' exclaims the author of the so-called Golden Poem of Pythagoras, 'ask thyself, what have I done during the day, what omitted?' Yet it is to be observed that the question is, 'What hast thou done or not done?' not 'What hast thou felt?' 'Know thyself' was the precept of the wisest Greek; but this meant, know yourself as man, recognise your human limitations; it did not mean, minutely analyse all that differentiates you from your fellows.

Two celebrated books will probably occur to the reader as examples in antiquity of introspective analysis—the 'Meditations' of Marcus Aurelius and the 'Confessions' of St Augustine. But a little consideration will show how entirely they differ in aim and spirit from modern analytical autobiographies. The philosophic Emperor does indeed explain the formation of his character, and how it came that he, more nearly than the majority of men, attained to the Stoic ideal. But he does this by telling us how teaching and example developed in him this or that quality. From Antoninus he learnt the love of action and contentment, from Sextus equanimity and sympathy with others, from Severus devotion to truth and justice, and so forth. Under the like conditions others would have been not less philosophers. So too, although St Augustine sought in his 'Confessions' to probe and detect the true state of his soul and regarded himself as a great problem, that at which he marvelled and which he sought to understand was his human nature. The 'Confessions' are the history of the relations of man's soul to God, a 'pilgrim's progress' from a condition of sin



and darkness to full conversion and communion with the Divine. The Saint analyses himself, but it is as a type, not as something abnormal; if others were not like him the analysis would be neither so instructive nor so edifying. It is by referring them to the impulses discoverable in human nature generally, that he seeks to explain his own actions and feelings. Man seems to him more wonderful than all the works of nature—but not I, not Augustine.

Or take a more modern instance of self-study and one more familiar to Rousseau, for Rousseau no doubt was greatly influenced by Montaigne. In spite of his self-complacent vanity, it is not in himself that the author of the immortal *Essays* is interested, so much as in human nature. Michel de Montaigne is the specimen of that elusive creature, man, which he has had the best opportunities of observing closely and under all conditions. His own personality comes first and is the most important, but it is in the same category as those other examples which he has collected from his experience of life and from the pages of Plutarch and the other books in his library. Mankind, he says, are all of a piece.

No autobiography can be expected to be absolutely accurate, unless indeed it be a diary written day by day; and even then what a field remains for self-deception! But Rousseau and his followers do not even profess accuracy. Rousseau admits, as we have seen, that when memory failed he trusted to invention, although he was careful to invent nothing that might not have been true, or, in other words, was inconsistent with his character as he conceived it to be. From this there is but one step to altering or suppressing facts so as to make them harmonise with the impression to be produced—a step taken by Rousseau's disciple Mme Roland when she perverted the whole story of her youth in order that it might establish her pretension to be a heroine never wanting in decision and dignity, mistress at all times of herself, a character such as those she read of in her beloved Plutarch.

But perhaps the most striking instance of complete disregard of truth and ingenious invention for the purpose of justifying and illustrating the writer's conceit of himself is afforded by that delightful book the '*Mémoires d'Outre-tombe*' of Chateaubriand. A few

years ago, to the majority even of the educated outside his own country, Chateaubriand had become little more than a famous name. At the present day there appears to be a renewed interest in a man whose supremacy in French literature was at one time, as Sainte-Beuve remarks, only to be compared with that of Voltaire at an earlier period. No one ever felt more certain than the author of 'René' that his claims to immortal renown were many and irresistible. In the solemn nights and amid the mysterious murmurs of the primeval forest, a new Muse had revealed herself to him. By her inspiration he had effected a revolution in French literature and had originated Romanticism.

In his first and immature work, the 'Essai sur les Révolutions,' he had anticipated the hopes of future generations, and had established the principles on which a more perfect society should hereafter be founded. He had next restored to men their faith in God and their hope of immortality. The 'Génie du Christianisme' effected what Pope, Clergy and Parliaments and all the powers of the old Monarchy had vainly attempted. Voltaire and the 'philosophism' of the eighteenth century had at last been overthrown. It was Chateaubriand's boast that, when all others had cowered before the conqueror of Europe, he had asserted the independence of his genius and had refused to bow the knee to the master of a hundred legions. Tacitus had written while Nero was still reigning. The Empire was tottering to its fall; but the Bourbons were forgotten until he recalled old traditions of loyalty, and placed the crown on the head of Louis XVIII by the publication of his pamphlet 'Bonaparte and the Bourbons.'

He was treated with characteristic ingratitude, yet in the Press and in his place in the House of Peers he 'formulated and asserted the true principles of representative government.' His tract 'la Monarchie selon la Charte' is the 'source of modern politics.' His influence raised Villèle to power. During the few months when he himself was Minister, he crushed anarchy in Spain, rescued a Bourbon from the clutches of the Revolution, and restored France to her legitimate place in the Councils of Europe. Had the ingratitude of his colleagues and the cautious dislike of a king, timorous and slothful to

noble deeds, not cut short his tenure of office, he would have obtained the Rhine frontier and have permanently secured for his country that object of her legitimate desire, which Richelieu and Louis XIV had failed to win and Napoleon to retain. But the Bourbons were incapable of appreciating his policy; and the mediocrity of their advisers feared the ascendancy of his genius. He was driven into opposition. Not sufficiently careful to moderate the force of blows aimed at the Ministry, he shook the foundations of the throne. Ever inclined to the weaker side, and overcoming his liberal and even republican sympathies, when the time-serving crowd abandoned the cause of legitimacy he remained loyal to his king, rejected all the advances of Louis-Philippe, and became the trusted adviser of the exiled princes.

This, and more, Chateaubriand professes to have achieved. It might indeed be questioned whether the Muse he found in the backwoods had not already met Rousseau in the coverts of Montmorenci; whether she was not the same who, with the smile of one of Greuze's innocent wantons, had revealed herself to Bernardin de Saint-Pierre in the glades of Réunion; whether the origins of Romanticism are not to be sought elsewhere, and further back than in the stories of Atala and of René; whether the religious revival which overthrew the reign of 'philosophism' had not begun even before the Revolution. Moreover, during the evil years which followed that event, the sufferings so courageously borne for conscience' sake by many of the clergy had greatly raised their reputation and influence, and that of the faith which they professed; once more the edifice of the Church had been cemented by the blood of her martyrs. Nor can we altogether credit Chateaubriand with the invention of a Christianity based on feeling and holding very loosely to dogma; for, although it certainly was a new departure in Christian apologetics to appeal to sentiment and imagination rather than to faith and reason, the germs of this are to be sought rather in Rousseau's 'Émile' than in the 'Génie du Christianisme.'

As for Chateaubriand's resistance to Napoleon, the difference between the treatment he received and that meted out to Mme de Staël seems to show how much more impatient the Emperor was of criticism from a

woman than from a man. Chateaubriand was treated with good-natured forbearance. The worst he suffered was an exile from Paris which was little more than nominal. It is also questionable whether the Restoration was greatly assisted by the pamphlet on Bonaparte and the Bourbons. Pasquier doubted whether the extreme and indecent virulence of the invective had not, by the irritation caused among the Bonapartists, done more harm than was balanced by the stimulus given to royalist fervour. As for 'la Monarchie selon la Charte,' if he asserted in it the true principles of representative government and defended the liberty of the Press, he by no means did so in the interests of progress, but in that of the fanatical and reactionary chamber. There was no one whom he hated more than Decazes, who consistently pursued a policy as liberal as circumstances and the interests of his master permitted. Chateaubriand, like Villèle and other leaders of the Right, associated himself with the unjustifiable and odious attempt of the Count of Artois and his friends to suggest the responsibility of the Minister for the murder of the Duke of Berri; and, when the King was induced by the Duchess of Angoulême and her allies to accept the resignation of his favourite, it was Chateaubriand who wrote the shameful words, 'his feet slipped in blood and he fell.'

The great writer's obstinate fidelity to the legitimist cause would have deserved all the credit he claims had it proceeded either from any devotion to the principles represented by that cause or from any loyal affection for the Bourbon princes. But that was far from being the case. 'My heart' (he said) 'never greatly beat for kings.' He was a political sceptic. No one, as he himself said, knew the Bourbons better and despised them more than he did. His loyalty, such as it was, grew simply out of the fact that he could not repudiate the doctrine of legitimacy which he had proclaimed so constantly and in so many volumes.

Yet we must allow that there was much truth in Chateaubriand's boast that the principles, the ideas, the events and struggles of a most memorable period were reflected in his life; that he had witnessed the end of one order of society and the beginning of another; and that he had assimilated in his opinions the characteristics,

however antagonistic, of the old world and of the new. If in his autobiography he had dealt with the facts in such a manner as to impress upon the reader his literary and political importance, and to justify and exalt his conduct, he would but have trodden in the steps of many earlier authors of autobiographies. But he aims at something more; his narrative is intended to show the growth and to illustrate the nature of an exceptional character, 'to explain,' as he puts it, 'his inexplicable heart,' 'to show himself as he was.'

What did Chateaubriand believe himself to be? or, if it be preferred, what did he wish others to think him? The two characters were probably not so different as at first sight they may appear. He has been called the greatest of 'poseurs.' For fifty years, says Sainte-Beuve, he wore a mask, behind which none cared or dared to look. But deception of others, persevered in so long and so consistently, could not but end in self-deception in the case of one gifted with so much imagination. In the first place, he was convinced that he was not in the roll of common men. Like Byron, 'he had a mind disposed to regard everything connected with himself as outside the ordinary course of events.' He is constantly marvelling at the singularities of his fate, at the strange vicissitudes of his career.

In the second place, all other things were to him flat, stale and unprofitable. 'I make my way,' he said, 'through my sad life yawning, taking no interest in the things for which others care, and believing in nothing.' According to himself, he was free from the 'last infirmity of noble minds.' 'If all the glory of the world lay at my feet, I would not stoop to pick it up.' He would not move a step to secure a fortune. He was satisfied that he had exceptional gifts as a diplomatist and statesman. The only obstacle to the most brilliant success had been his profound indifference.

Yet he believed that fate had a spite against him. From the outset, fortune and he had been at enmity. Relating his escape from shipwreck on his return from America, he exclaims, What a relief it would have been to himself and to others if he had been drowned! Sorrow, so he told Joubert, was his element; he was only himself when unhappy. The course of his life is like a Roman

road bordered by tombs ; it may be traced by his sorrows, as a wounded man may be followed by the marks of his blood. He is always encompassed by death and gloomy night. All his days are days of parting. It is not good to come too near him. A gamekeeper whom he knew in his youth was killed by poachers. He goes to London, and Castlereagh cuts his throat. Matthieu de Montmorency buys the 'Vallée aux Loups' and dies. Mme de Beaumont opened the funeral procession of the women he had loved—Semeles, remarks Sainte-Beuve, consumed in the arms of Jove. 'Yea, though you would, you shall not spare one ; all shall die of you.' The reason of many people with whom he had been intimate became troubled ; it seemed as if he carried with him the contagion of madness.

Resuming his narrative after a digression, he remarks that 'each suffering must be told in its proper place.' Each suffering ! Has he then nothing else to tell us ? If he had not, if the '*Mémoires d'Outre-tombe*' were only the record of disillusionments and melancholy days, who, however great the magic of the style, would not throw down the tiresome volume ? But the hero is not always complaining of 'the slings and arrows of outrageous fortune' ; he cannot always maintain the pose of a weary and disdainful victim. He does not convince us that the author who achieved popularity with a rapidity and in a measure to which there are few parallels, the traveller who had a keen sense for the beauties of nature and a real interest in sight-seeing, the amorist who won the deep but ill-requited affection of many women, the politician who believed that he had shaped the destinies of a great nation, had not his happy hours and did not sometimes feel life to be worth living. He may have discovered, as he grasped each object of his desire, that that also was vanity, that the end of 'that unrest which men miscall delight' is weariness ; and, had he been content to ask with the Psalmist, 'What profit hath a man of all his labour ?' we might not question his sincerity. But, when he complains that Fortune from his birth had a special grudge against him, he moves our impatience, for she gave him in unstinted measure all things the world believes to be desirable, except riches, and of them, to do him justice, he was ever careless.

That he had not a happy disposition must be allowed. He had a large share of what have been called the two chief ingredients of misery—inordinate vanity and insatiable ambition. The habit of day-dreaming in which he so constantly indulged during his youth and even later, no doubt produced a dissatisfaction with real life, which at its best could not realise the golden visions of a poet's dream, any more than any breathing woman could possess the charms of that 'ideal Eve' for whom he sought in vain among his terrestrial loves. Probably also he was afflicted by a congenital disposition to melancholy. 'I suffer,' he said to Fontanes, 'from the spleen, from physical depression, a real disease.' His father, a privateer, slave-dealer and ship-owner, retired from business to nurse his morose pride as a feudal noble in the gloomy fortalice of Combourg. The silence of his sullen melancholy was broken only by furious gusts of passion, and drove his wife to take refuge from her domestic troubles in a sour and querulous devotion. René's favourite sister Lucile was a victim to hypochondria, and died under the same delusion as Rousseau, believing the whole world to be in a conspiracy against her. The mind of another sister, Julie, Mme de Farey, was clouded by religious mania after her sufferings under the Terror.

There was, however, another side of Chateaubriand's character on which he rarely dwells, but which may in part explain the fascination of his society as well as the charm of his memoirs. The reader of the '*Mémoires d'Outre-tombe*' recognises through the airs and graces and affectations of the writer a real though perhaps superficial interest in all things human, in the trivialities even of daily life. No chapters of the '*Mémoires*' are more vivid and fascinating than those in which the author tells the story of his childhood and youth.\* Nor,

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\* The earliest version of the first part of Chateaubriand's autobiography was written in 1826, and was published by M. Charles Lenormant in 1874 as '*Souvenirs d'enfance et de jeunesse*.' Comparing it with the revised version, as it appears in the '*Mémoires d'Outre-tombe*,' we are struck by the licence the author allows himself in dealing with facts, e.g. the career of his father as a sailor (cf. M. O. T. i, p. 17, and '*Souvenirs*,' p. 13). We are, moreover, far less irritated in reading the '*Souvenirs*' by the habit which grew upon the writer of parading his learning and his travels in season and out.



in spite of all the trouble taken to impress upon us that he was from his birth weary of all things and doomed to misery, is he able to convince us that he was altogether unhappy. Even the hours spent in sentimental dreams while he wandered alone, or in the company of his sympathetic sister Lucie had their bitter sweetness; for melancholy, as he allowed, was the source to him of pleasure, not less than of pain, and that pain itself was, as Wordsworth called it, 'dear delicious pain.'

François René de Chateaubriand, the youngest of ten children, six of whom grew up, was born at St Malo on September 4, 1768. The windows of the room in which he first saw the light looked over the city-walls upon that restless Breton sea in whose storm-lashed reefs and boiling tides he affected to see the image of himself and of his fortunes. From the first, whatever happens to him is represented as something significant and exceptional; and the simplest things are invested with a tragic importance. When, as a schoolboy, he struggled with the master who would whip him for bird-nesting, he was defending his honour, the idol of his life, 'to which he was so often to sacrifice peace, pleasure and fortune.' He says that his delight when playing as a child on the sands at St Malo was to 'battle against the tempest and with the waves, which sometimes retreated before him and at others chased him up the beach.' 'Battling with the tempest' are brave words for an urchin running backwards and forwards at the edge of the surf. That he should have been compelled to eat things he did not like and to leave nothing on his plate, that when he came home with his face bruised and his clothes torn, after fighting in the streets, he was scolded and not pitied, seemed to him to be proofs of the exceptional hardships of his childish lot, just as in later years he complains that fate has a peculiar spite against him if his friends die, or if he himself suffers any of the afflictions inseparable from humanity. He resented old age itself, said one who knew him, as a personal injury; and he peevishly pushed aside the last courses of life's banquet because his appetite had lost its first zest and vigour.

Chateaubriand was nine years old when the family left St Malo to settle at Combourg. Here he allows

that he actually spent a happy fortnight—his first taste of happiness! This short interval of bliss was soon ended by his being sent to school. Yet his school-days at Dol and afterwards at Rennes do not seem to have been unhappy. The worthy priests who were his teachers appear to have shown kindness and discrimination in their treatment of an intractable and passionate pupil. He eagerly shared in the games and mischief of his school-fellows. The strength of his character raised him, he assures us, without effort on his part, to a foremost place among them. It was usual among the Breton gentry to seek some judicial office as a provision for their eldest son, to send the second into the navy, and the third into the Church. René was accordingly to be a sailor. When fourteen he began his professional training at Brest. But the discipline was repugnant to him; he would prefer to take orders. He was accordingly sent to the College of Dinan, where, after discovering that he knew more than his teachers, he found a spiritual life even less to his taste than a nautical. He again came home, to spend eighteen months in rambles and reveries with his sister Lucile, or in day-dreams in the company of the ideal being he calls his 'sylph.' He also attempted composition in prose and verse. Such, he assures us, was his sense of rhythm, that at his first school his Latin prose fell into unsought pentameters. Yet, if he lisped in numbers, it is remarkable that he, so supreme a master of the harmonies of his native tongue, should have moved so timidly and awkwardly in the fetters of verse. He claimed to be, and was accepted by his countrymen as, a great poet, but it was in the sense in which the name might be given to Sir Thomas Browne or Ruskin or to any other writer of cadenced and imaginative prose. At length his father sent for him; 'Enough,' he said, 'of your follies. Your brother has obtained a commission for you in the Regiment of Navarre. Here are a hundred louis. Be careful and behave like a man of honour.'

The young subaltern's fellow-officers soon discovered that he was not of common clay. There was that about him which forbade the usual practical jokes, while the charm of his society made his room the social centre of the regiment. He assures us that in a fortnight he was perfect in the routine of his profession. His military

duties sat lightly upon him, as upon other young nobles; and the greater part of the next four years was spent on leave and in Paris. His unblemished quarterings gave him the right, after presentation to the King, to be invited to join in the royal hunt and to ride in his Majesty's carriages, a privilege denied to the Prime Minister. The marriage of his brother to a granddaughter of Malesherbes, and the position which his sister the Comtesse de Farcy had obtained in fashionable and literary circles, enabled the Chevalier de Chateaubriand to become acquainted with the men of letters then most in repute. He has immortalised these men by the vivid and generally malicious sketches of them and their works given in his *Memoirs*. Sainte-Beuve has been at pains to show how little this later and scornful attitude agrees with that of the young neophyte who was pleased and honoured by the notice of men already well known.

Chateaubriand was present at the stormy meetings of the Estates of Brittany. He remained in Paris till the spring of 1791; he witnessed the earlier scenes of the revolutionary tragedy and met some of the actors. Most of the officers of his regiment had joined the Prince of Condé. By his father's death he had inherited a little money, and he determined to indulge his taste for travel. Early in April 1791 he embarked at St Malo for Baltimore. We have more authentic information about this voyage to America than about any other part of his travels in the New World, since he had as fellow-passengers a party of priests on their way to found the first Romanist seminary in the United States. One of the most justly admired passages in the '*Génie du Christianisme*' is the description of evening prayers at sea. The author tells us how he was overcome by the sublimity of the scene and by the simple faith of the sailors, and that his eyes overflowed with tears of passionate devotion. This purple patch is again made use of in the *Memoirs*, but there he confesses that at the time the old Adam still prevailed, and that his imagination was fired not by religious emotion but by the thought of a woman and of the marvel of her smile; while, sad bathos, Father Garnier, one of his fellow-passengers, has recorded that the young gentleman had to be warned that the

excessive vehemence with which he joined in their services was far from edifying to the company. However this may be, he landed at Baltimore on July 10. He presented a letter of introduction from Armand de la Rouërie to Washington, which exists duly endorsed among the General's papers. A year later he returned to France, and disembarked at Havre on January 2, 1792. This is the residuum of proved fact which the careful investigations of French and American critics have left of all that Chateaubriand has told us about his travels in the New World—a very small crumb of bread indeed to so much sack!

We may take as certainly proved that Chateaubriand never saw the Ohio, the Mississippi, or Florida. The researches of M. Bédier, Miss E. K. Armstrong, and others\* have conclusively shown that, whenever he has ventured to add anything to descriptions plagiarised from Charlevoix, Bartram, Carver, Beltrami and other travellers, he has made mistakes impossible to anyone who had seen the countries he professes to have visited. The wonderful flora he describes is perhaps even more remarkable than bears drunk on grapes, or sitting with the otters, shyest of wild creatures, round the Indians at their meals. Chateaubriand's Indians are the brethren of Rousseau's savages. 'The manners of the Sioux are as sweet as the plants by which they are nourished. Their squaws, fair and blushing, would be at home in the 'Nouvelle Héloïse' or the novels of Richardson.

Taking the account of his journey given in the 'Mémoires d'Outre-tombe,' where it is reduced to more modest proportions than in the 'Voyage en Amérique,' published in 1800, and shortening even that itinerary as much as the positive assertions of the author will allow, M. Bédier has shown that it would have taken

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\* Publications of the Modern Language Association of America, vol. xxii, No. 2, June 1907. 'Chateaubriand's America,' by Miss E. K. Armstrong; 'Chateaubriand et l'Amérique,' by Madison Stathers; Grenoble, 1906. Apparently a writer in the 'American Quarterly Review,' December 1827, was the first to point out that the descriptions in 'Atala' and the Natchez showed that Chateaubriand had never seen the Mississippi or the Ohio. René de Mersenne published in 1849 'Deux lettres sur les voyages imaginaires de M. de Chateaubriand dans l'Amérique Septentrionale. Garnier Frères. Mr. Gribble, in his recent work, gives many examples of Chateaubriand's plagiarism.

thirteen days more than the traveller had at his disposal. In making this calculation, M. Bédier assumes that Chateaubriand travelled with greater speed than was reached by anyone before the use of steam, and allows for no halts for botanising, studying native customs and antiquities, or for composing, 'in the wigwams of the savages,' 'Atala' and the history of a Canadian tribe, which he unfortunately lost.

M. Bédier is disposed to allow that Chateaubriand may have seen Niagara and the shores of Lake Erie. This may be, although in the account of even this part of his journey there is much which is at least improbable. He can hardly have worn a costume of bearskin and scarlet cloth in an American summer, or have met a native walking on foot while his squaw rode, or have sympathised with an old Indian woman whose lean cow had been driven off her little field by unfeeling neighbours; for no Indian family had a separate field, and no squaw could live apart from her tribe, nor could the author have accompanied the Indians in pursuit of muskrats and lynxes at a season when their skins are worthless and they are never hunted. Further, the description of Niagara is vague. The story of his fall when climbing down the precipice by the side of the cataract, his broken arm and cure in an Indian hut, is almost as improbable as that of his other escape, when his horse reared with its forefeet over the abyss and only saved itself and him by turning on its haunches. It would have been a fate worthy of such an exceptional being to have disappeared in the thunder and mist of the mightiest of cataracts. We may remember that, when he saw the snow-clad dome of Mont Blanc, he excited the very unnecessary fears of his wife and of Mme Récamier by exclaiming that there was the place where it became him to enter upon eternity.

However these things may be, Chateaubriand was certainly five months on the other side of the Atlantic, during which time he must have seen something and been somewhere. Even if he never went far from Albany, he may have seen the primeval forest; and, if his travels were restricted, there was the more time for him to write the first draft of 'Atala,' to which M. le Braz, for other reasons, assigns a much later

date. The reason given by M. Bédier for believing that it was composed after the author's return to Europe does not seem conclusive. Some passages, he says, are taken from Bartram's book; but this was published while Chateaubriand was in America.

Besides this American journey, Chateaubriand made a short tour in Greece, Palestine, Egypt, and Spain. But in his books, in his correspondence, and in conversation, he implied that his travels had been those of a Marco Polo or a Livingstone. 'I have lived,' he says, 'the life of a Tartar. I have dwelt in the wigwam of the Iroquois and under the tent of the Arab; I have worn the tunic of the savage and the caftan of the Mameluke.' He wishes it to be believed that his was a solitary soul, driven, like the Wandering Jew, to pass unresting and self-centred in its misery from land to land, unmoved by the most stirring scenes and catastrophes of mortal life. M. Bédier charitably suggests that René began by deceiving himself. It is, he thinks, a case of 'auto-suggestion,' well deserving the attention of psychologists. No doubt the untruthfulness of the analytical autobiographer may often be the result of self-deception. He may say to himself, 'this is what a man of my character would have done,' and in the end come to believe that he did indeed so act. But this cannot have been the case with the traveller's tales told by Chateaubriand. When he was making his extracts from Bartram, Charlevoix, and others, he cannot have imagined that he had himself visited the places they described. Moreover, the account of his travels given in the '*Voyage en Amérique*,' the '*Essai sur les Révolutions*,' and the '*Génie du Christianisme*,' is more extravagant and incredible than the comparatively modest itinerary of the *Memoirs*. He would not have toned down his fictions had he gradually persuaded himself of their truth.

After his return to France, Chateaubriand married Céleste Buisson de la Vigne, a friend of his sister Lucile and an heiress. He had only seen the young lady, who was graceful and very pretty, two or three times, and he felt no vocation for married life. But his sisters were pressing, and he wanted money to enable him to join the army of Condé and 'to risk his life in defence of a cause for which he did not care.' Besides, he assures us, he

was always so easy-going in private matters that he would at any time have accepted a century's slavery to avoid an hour's wrangle. In April 1792 he brought his wife and sisters to Paris, where he remained about three months, until he and his elder brother were able to make their escape across the frontier. We are not concerned with his graphic account of his campaign under Condé nor with the marvels of his tramp from Longwy to Brussels, footsore, wounded, and suffering from smallpox, for we have not the means to test the truth of this part of his narrative. It is worth noting that, when in their bivouacs his comrades asked him to tell the story of his travels, he allows that, 'We lied as freely as a corporal to the recruit who stands him a drink.' Perhaps Mila and Celuta were called into existence to beguile the watches of those weary nights.

His friends succeeded in conveying him from Brussels to Jersey, where he lay between life and death until he was sufficiently recovered to sail for England in May 1793. The remains of his slender patrimony and the greater part of his wife's property had been confiscated. His relations could not help him, but he hoped to find in London some way of earning enough to sustain life. For a year he had a bitter struggle with poverty and failing health. He was helped by Peltier, the indefatigable royalist pamphleteer, whose kindness he has requited by contemptuous sarcasm. He tells us that it was Peltier who, thinking that he might recover his strength in the country, urged him to answer an advertisement in the Yarmouth paper. A Society of Antiquaries were compiling a history of Suffolk, and wished to find a scholar who could decipher French manuscripts of the twelfth century. Chateaubriand's application was successful; and he went to Beccles, the rector of which place, the Rev. Bence Sparrow, was chairman of the society. There was at that time no Yarmouth paper, no such society of antiquaries, no 'Cambden' French MSS., nor was Mr Sparrow or anyone else about to write a history of Suffolk. What really happened, as M. le Braz shows, is that apparently early in 1794 Chateaubriand obtained the place of French teacher in a school at Beccles. He also gave lessons in the neighbourhood, where he was kindly and hospitably received, not as usher in



a school, but as an exiled gentleman of birth and breeding.

The headmaster of the school in which he taught left Beccles at the end of 1794 for Bungay. Chateaubriand followed him, and, apparently with his assistance and in connexion with the Bungay Grammar School, opened a not unsuccessful French class. His scholars seem to have had a kindly recollection of their teacher, 'Mr Shatterbrains.' At Bungay he was a constant guest in the house of Rev. John Ives, a clergyman possessed of some fortune, an enthusiastic Hellenist and a hard drinker, who, like his young friend, had travelled in the New World. They compared their reminiscences; and, warmed by the reverend gentleman's port, René probably repeated with more conviction the stories he had told over a camp-fire. When he was laid up after a fall from his horse, he was nursed by Mrs Ives and her daughter Charlotte. Every reader of the '*Mémoires d'Outre-tombe*' will remember the idyll of René and Charlotte. Did Mrs Ives offer him her daughter's hand? Did he confess that he, who had courted and won the affections of a child, was a married man? And did he fly from Bungay maddened by passion and remorse? Or have we here an invention as baseless as the story of his flirtation with the two imaginary maidens of Florida, the originals (as he professed) of Mila and Celuta? M. le Braz gives reasons which almost convince him, and which we think must quite convince his readers, that the loves of René and Charlotte were as fictitious as those of Werther and his mistress. The family of Charlotte, afterwards Mrs Sutton, contradicted the story, which is also inconsistent with a letter which he wrote to a friend at Bungay soon after he had left, announcing his speedy return and his intention to give up teaching and to nurse his health.

But, says M. le Braz, there was a persistent tradition in Suffolk that there had been love-passages between the exile and Miss Ives; and he believes that René has idealised his passion for the East Anglian maiden in the story of Atala. In that case, the 'wigwam' in which that romance was composed cannot, as M. le Braz supposes, have been that of the venerable Sachem Ives, for it must have been written after Chateaubriand's

return to London—an hypothesis which for many reasons it is difficult to accept. The probability seems to be that there was a flirtation, but neither carried so far nor closed so dramatically as René would have us believe. Lest the events of his exile should seem to be out of keeping with the dignity of his character, he not only suppresses the fact that he was French teacher in a school, but also represents himself as the hero, the somewhat questionable hero, it is true, of an affecting romance. With characteristic ingratitude, ignoring the sympathy and love of the too sensitive Pauline de Beaumont, the ill-requited and untiring devotion of the Duchess of Duras, the constant and much-enduring affection of his wife, Chateaubriand dares to say that Charlotte's was the only true affection which ever cheered his weary and solitary pilgrimage until he met Mme Récamier, to whom we must remember it was his custom to read whatever he had written. Again we must ask, was he deceiving himself, or was he simply lying to justify his paraded pessimism?

In 1797 Chateaubriand published in London his first book, the '*Essai sur les Révolutions*,' a strange medley of ill-digested learning—often very inaccurate index-learning—and of parallels, generally far-fetched, between ancient and modern history, but containing also some eloquent passages and acute observations. It is the most sincere of all his works. He loudly professes his admiration for Rousseau, 'the apostle of God and humanity,' 'the modern Solon,' whom, perhaps because he owed so much to him, he afterwards depreciated. He does not conceal his theological and political scepticism. Christianity has received a death-blow. What, he asks, will take its place? As to the way in which we are to be governed, what does it matter whether we are the prey of a Court, a Directory, or an Assembly?

He allows that some sort of religion is indispensable to social order. Could Christianity be holstered up so as to serve the purpose until something else has been devised? He had the keen sense of a born journalist for the trend of popular feeling and for what was likely to strike the popular imagination. He remarks in the '*Essai*' that Christianity still has some vitality in France owing to the close connexion of the parish clergy with

the people and to their generally exemplary lives. He saw the popularity of the tolerant policy of Bonaparte, and he seized the opportunity of coming forward as the leader and apologist of the Catholic reaction. He wished, as Mme de Boigne said, to raise himself on to a pedestal which would enable him to dominate his generation—no easy thing for a contemporary of Napoleon.

Yet might not the restorer of religion take his place by the side of the restorer of order? But he who affected to be without ambition, scornful of wealth, place and honours, must be inspired by motives worthy of his cause and consistent with his character. He therefore, in the preface to a reprint of the '*Essai sur les Révolutions*' published in 1826, tells us that, when on his return to France in 1800 he found the churches destroyed, religion persecuted, philosophism honoured and powerful, he at once determined to take the side of the oppressed and to raise the standard of religion. There could hardly be a more complete perversion of the facts. The first version of his book was written before his return from exile. The tolerant policy of the First Consul had already put an end to all persecution. When the '*Génie du Christianisme*' was published, it was received with applause by the organs of the Government as likely to facilitate the reconciliation of Church and State.

In the '*Mémoires d'Outre-tombe*,' Chateaubriand gives a totally different but equally inaccurate account of the motives which led him to write. The '*Essai*' had been the product of scepticism and sorrow, 'though illumined by a ray of that Christian light which had shone on his cradle.' After the sad news of his mother's death he determined to seek another way. He found inspiration in the title which at once occurred to him of the book to be written, '*Le Génie du Christianisme*'; and he set to work with the ardour of a son building his mother's tomb—an ardour which, as it would seem, could work miracles. The letter in which his sister, Mme de Farcy, told him that they had lost their mother is dated July 1, 1799; and it reached him after the death of Mme de Farcy herself on the twenty-second of the same month. On August 19, Chateaubriand, in a letter to Mme de Fontanes, tells her that his book of 430 pages is in the

printer's hands. He had taken Hebrew lessons, consulted learned men, explored libraries and meditated deeply, all apparently in three weeks. The rapidity of his American travels is nothing compared to this literary feat, even though, as he allows, he made liberal use of the first draft of 'Natchez,' a shapeless farrago of 2300 manuscript pages—the quarry from which so much of the materials of his subsequent works is drawn; for Chateaubriand, who had no love of books or of reading, afterwards lived on the stock of learning he collected while in England. Nor is it true that he was inspired by the title which he had found for his book. He tells Fontanes in a letter written from London in October 1799 that this title is 'Des Beautés poétiques et morales de la Religion Chrétienne et de sa Supériorité sur tous les autres cultes de la terre.' It would be hard to find inspiration in such cumbrous prolixity. The happy thought of giving to his book the name under which it was published only occurred or was suggested to Chateaubriand after his return to France, and while he was revising and completing his work, aided by the sympathy and criticism of his old and faithful friend Fontanes and of the sagacious Joubert.

The 'Génie du Christianisme' was published in May 1802, under the patronage of Lucien Bonaparte, at that time Minister of the Interior, who read the proofs and made annotations, commonplace enough according to the author. It was dedicated to the First Consul, who had just concluded the Concordat. The name of Chateaubriand was already well known. The tale of *Atala*, which was originally to have been inserted as an episode in the great work, had already been published separately and had been received with enthusiastic applause. Forgetting, this once, to maintain his pose of scornful indifference to fame and popular favour, Chateaubriand confesses that, when he found himself the fashion, his head was turned and that he was intoxicated by the delights of celebrity.

The popularity of Bernardin de Saint-Pierre, of Macpherson's 'Ossian,' and of 'Werther,' shows how glad that generation was to forget harsh realities in romantic or sentimental reveries. The story of the new author, who idealised Rousseau's noble savage, satisfied the taste for

sentimental emotion, which was not always an affectation on the part of a society whose aims were coarse and material. Such readers were not likely to notice that Chateaubriand's sentiment is the product not so much of real feeling as of intellectual effort assisted by a vivid imagination not unstimulated by sensuality. Nor, among the causes of the popularity of this as of the author's later works, must we forget the inimitable style—a merit of which the French have always been singularly appreciative. Sainte-Beuve remarks that, although others have produced pages which might have been written by Rousseau or Buffon, no one has been able to imitate Chateaubriand. A foreigner is scarcely competent to express an opinion on questions of style. But even a foreigner can read Chateaubriand's stories with pleasure, if not with the full appreciation of a native, of M. Faguet for instance, who calls that pretentious cento 'Les Martyrs' delicious. This pleasure must be due not so much to the matter, which is but third-rate and often even absurd, as to the perfection of the language. Is it fanciful to suggest that Chateaubriand may owe something of the harmony, the dignified rhythm of his periods to the study of Milton and other English classics? Such a sentence as this, 'les reines ont été vues pleurant comme de simples femmes, et l'on s'est étonné de la quantité de larmes que contiennent les yeux des rois,' would neither in sentiment nor cadence be out of place in 'Urn Burial.'

Chateaubriand was therefore already a popular author when the 'Génie du Christianisme' appeared, at the very moment when all things conspired to secure the favourable reception of a book which assisted the policy of the Government, was welcomed by the religious—who did not care to scrutinise too closely the arguments of their champion—and also harmonised with the sentimental reaction from the chilling rationalism of the eighteenth century and with the prevalent inclination to romanticism; for the Revolution, by sweeping away the last relics of feudalism, had made the 'Gothic' ages at once less odious and more interesting. Chateaubriand, in the preface to the edition of the 'Essai sur les Révolutions' which has already been cited, says that his object in writing the 'Génie du Christianisme' was not to appeal to the reason—for who would read a theological treatise?—

but to the heart of his readers. The world had been told that Christianity was a religion born in barbarous ages, with absurd dogmas and ridiculous ceremonies. He would show that no religion ever existed so poetical, so humane, so favourable to arts and letters; that the modern world owes to it everything from agriculture to the abstract sciences, from the unpretentious almshouse to the temple designed by Michael Angelo and adorned by Raphael. He would summon all the magic of fancy and all the impulses of the heart to the defence of that religion against which they had been armed. Great and general as was the applause with which it was received, there were not wanting critics who, like Daru, pointed out that there was much in the book which was likely to shock the truly pious, as well as a complete want of logic and many transparent sophistries. It is indeed a truly remarkable medley of eloquent and brilliant fancy, much-paraded but inaccurate erudition, and irrelevant clap-trap. It shows also a strange want of humour, as when, in the chapter on virginity, God is styled 'the eternal celibate.'

Chateaubriand's popularity was at least as much an effect as a cause of the Catholic reaction; and his book is less important in the history of the Church than in that of art and literature. He did not, as he flattered himself, originate Romanticism, nor even the growing interest that was felt in medieval art and institutions, but he gave a powerful impulse to both, and was at once accepted as the master and leader of a new school. Yet, at the time, it was as the champion of the Church that he was and felt himself to be of importance. It was inconsistent with his scornful disinterestedness that he should be a mere sophist arguing, in the interests of his ambition, on behalf of a cause to which he was indifferent. Henceforth, therefore, he must profess the creed of a faithful son of the Catholic Church. To utter religious sentiments with eloquent unction was easy, but to live consistently with his profession was another matter. Sometimes he appears half-exultant that his character was too independent to conform to Christian ethics. Never, he said, could he forget an injury; still less would he turn the other cheek. He declined even more decidedly to leave the primrose path for the steep and narrow way. 'I used to be,' he confesses, 'on very good

terms with my body, which scoffed at the warnings of my reason. Why, it said, play the miser with the pleasures of youth in the hope of retaining the power to enjoy them at an age when no one will care to share them with you? And accordingly, it plunged headlong into indulgence.' But, though from time to time he forgets to maintain the pose of a devout believer, it more often was an additional element in the insincerity of his presentation of himself.

We have seen how up to this point the attempt to explain himself led Chateaubriand not only to exaggeration and misrepresentation of his feelings, and of the events of his life, but even to wholesale invention. He had now burst into the full blaze of celebrity, and henceforth his career could not but be more or less public. He might still deceive his readers and possibly himself as to the motives, and even some of the details, of his actions, but he could no longer allow his fancy to play freely with the facts of his life.

So far, wherever we have been able to test his statements, we have found them to be utterly untrustworthy; all regard for truth is subordinated to the wish to explain and exalt his pessimism, and to represent himself as the romantic and exceptional being he believed himself to be. The interesting task remains, to trace the same disregard for facts, which in a more subtle form impairs the historical value of the later chapters of the '*Mémoires d'Outre-tombe*,' and to point out by what suppression of the truth and suggestions of the untruth the author seeks to convince us that he, on his intellectual throne, scorned the favours and braved the power of the great Emperor; that political greatness was afterwards thrust upon him by circumstances; and that he was ever sighing for a repose which was never to be his. The limits of space forbid that this task should now be attempted; but enough perhaps has been said to show that the '*Mémoires d'Outre-tombe*' are a striking instance of the worthlessness, as historical evidence, of autobiographies directly or indirectly inspired by Rousseau.

P. F. WILLERT.



Art. 10.—INDIA UNDER LORD MORLEY.

1. *Indian Speeches, 1907-9.* By Viscount Morley, O.M. London : Macmillan, 1909.
2. *Administrative Problems of British India.* By Joseph Chailley. Translated by Sir William Meyer, K.C.I.E. London : Macmillan, 1910.
3. *Studies of Indian Life and Sentiment.* By Sir Bampfylde Fuller, K.C.S.I. London : John Murray, 1910.
4. *Indian Unrest.* By Valentine Chirol. A reprint, revised and enlarged, from 'The Times,' with an introduction by Sir Alfred Lyall. London : Macmillan, 1910.
5. *The Native States of India.* By Sir William Lee-Warner, K.C.S.I. London : Macmillan, 1910.
6. *Education and Citizenship in India.* By Leonard Alston. London : Longmans, 1910.
7. *Papers Relating to Constitutional Reform in India.* Three vols. Calcutta : Government Press, 1908.

It would seem to be the fate of India to be compelled to keep her darkest side to the view of England. While the Dominions through a hundred agencies are always pressing their rosier prospects and advantages upon the British gaze, while their determined optimism makes every returning colonist an advertiser for his country, the Indian questions whose echo reaches us are plague, famine, waves of malaria, and the wrongs of South African emigrants. Probably the chief impression of the man in the street, and of the man in the villa, as to the last five years of manifold activities and unexampled economic progress, would be summed up in the word 'unrest,' coupled with some indistinct notions of a vehement political controversy. For this curious distortion of view there is no difficulty in accounting. Not one of the Colonies—even of the Crown Colonies—is infested with a knot of House of Commons men anxious to blacken and pervert everything that occurs there, for the sake of making a case against the Administration. Instead of a High Commissioner or Agent-General, sturdily determined for the credit of his country to put the best face on all its concerns, India has had for interpreter-in-chief a Secretary of State who has never found a cheerful word to say about his charge.

Probably the speeches of Lord Morley as they were delivered, and the volume in which they have been reprinted, are the source from which, more than any other, current opinions on Indian affairs have been derived. The reader finds these speeches wholly occupied with the subjects of political agitation and reform, informed by a spirit of boding anxiety, full of dark references to tremendous issues and frightful possibilities, and suggesting a situation so precarious that even a discussion in the House of Lords by speakers so heedless and irresponsible as Lord Lansdowne and Lord Curzon might bring down the avalanche. The intelligent foreigner would carry away the impression that we had been on the verge of a cyclone-vortex, which he may conclude has just been weathered by leaving all to the pilot. The exhaustive analysis of the discontent in India presented in the letters of Mr Valentine Chirol, admirable as a political and social study, has perhaps, by the very attention it excited, tended to accentuate the prevailing impression of seditious agitation as being the one question of the day. The public utterances of Lord Minto (who, in comparison with his predecessor, took small interest in the ordinary questions of administration), being mostly delivered on the occasion of the passing of measures intended for the better prevention of noxious tendencies, were on the whole of the same gloomy cast. The English travellers who go out to the country with the intention of communicating their impressions to their countrymen, are usually persons of pronounced prepossessions who are obliged to see everything black. The Indians, on the other hand, who come to England, whether to interview the Secretary of State or to study for the professions, are all drawn from one and the same class. When they are heard of collectively, it is with some grievance or protest in their mouths. All these influences have been combined to fix attention on one side of the picture; the other side there are few to hold up.

A useful corrective to the depression likely to result from a perusal of the two books already mentioned may be supplied by some of the other works on our list. In his admirable and, on the whole, very sympathetic study of Indian administration and the difficulties it has to face, M. Chailley has drawn, primarily for the benefit of his

own countrymen, a picture of which Englishmen may well be proud. He has given many years of study to the subject and has produced a book on India, at once wider in its survey, more detailed in its descriptions, more judicious in its conclusions, than any we possess within the limits of a single volume. In the first part of his work M. Chailley discusses the field of administration, the races of India, their religions, their economic conditions, the progress already made in social and political reform; in the second and larger part he examines the policy of Great Britain in India, together with law, justice, education and administration.

One of his subjects, that of the Native States, receives fuller illustration in Sir W. Lee-Warner's book. It is needless to say that the author of 'The Native States of India' has had almost unrivalled opportunities for mastering the intricacies of a theme which he treats with plenitude of knowledge and singular lucidity. He deals with a side of Indian policy and administration hitherto but little explored, the importance of which it is impossible to over-estimate, if we merely consider the fact that of the 1,700,000 square miles comprised within our Indian Empire, the Native States collectively make up more than one-third. Sir William sets himself to answer principally two questions—how did these states come to be left in their semi-autonomous condition? and what are, actually, their relations with the supreme Government? To some the Native Princes appear to be allies, to others vassals, of the British Raj; to others again they appear semi-sovereign rulers, to a fourth section merely an aristocracy. The importance of determining what they really are is obviously very great; and it is on this matter that Sir William, in a survey dealing largely with the facts of the past but still more with the conditions of the present, pours a flood of invaluable light.

The descriptive portion of M. Chailley's book should be compared with the vivid and sympathetic 'studies' of Sir Bampfylde Fuller. Concerned largely with the land and its inhabitants, their religion, habits and social customs, he has space also for agriculture and manufactures, for the taxes, the police, and the schools. To education he devotes a particularly interesting chapter,

and comes to conclusions thereupon which closely resemble those of Mr Chirol. That no department of our present system is more important than that of education—that none, indeed, in view of the attitude of future generations towards the British Government, is equally important—is recognised by all these writers. To education Mr Chirol devotes no less than five of his illuminating letters. Mr Alston's work, 'Education and Citizenship in India,' is entirely concerned with this question. The results of his enquiry he sums up as follows: 'The educational system of India is, even from the extreme secularist point of view, unsatisfactory and inadequate; and its products (like the educational products of other lands and other systems) are no more above criticism morally than they are intellectually.' It is to be feared that the source of most of our recent troubles lies here.

Lord Minto and Lord Morley entered upon office, as they quitted it, almost simultaneously, at the close of the year 1905. The period of their rule has been prominently a time of turmoil and sedition; and it has been the natural impulse of an administration conscious of being heavily charged with benevolent intentions to seek the explanations of its troubles in the doings of the preceding régime. Repeatedly in the speeches of Lord Morley and Lord Minto there have been references to the disturbed and ominous situation they inherited, implying more or less clearly that all the tares which came up afterwards grew from seed sown by Lord Curzon. The contention will not stand against the facts.

Undoubtedly there was much irritation in certain quarters at the time of Lord Curzon's departure. The partition of Bengal and the reform of the Universities had thrown the Lower Provinces into a ferment; and over the country at large there may have been a vague sense of uneasiness under the feeling that no one was safe against the zeal for improvement. The partition, being a thing that was bound to come sooner or later, had been discussed over and over again for a dozen years back, without any acrimony.\* It hurt no one in body or

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\* On one of these occasions, when the subject was to the fore, an active movement sprang up in Behar to urge the claims of that province to

estate. To the rest of India the sentimental grievance mattered nothing; nor can it be supposed that the sore created by a partition which was generally welcomed by the population cut off, and resented only by those who had not undergone the operation, could have continued open long as a source of disturbance, if there had not been other reasons for keeping it festering. Had Lord Lansdowne left India immediately after the passing of the measure for the protection of child-wives (known as the Age of Consent Act), he would have left a good deal of smouldering Hindu resentment behind him. But it would be just as reasonable to accuse him of the outburst of sedition which Lord Elgin's Government encountered in 1897, as to lay its sequel of ten years later upon the shoulders of Lord Curzon. What would have happened if Lord Curzon had completed a second term in India belongs to the region of hypothetics. Anglo-Indians generally appear to be convinced that, under his strong rule, there was as little likelihood that the disorders would have reached a dangerous pitch, as that Wellington would have been stopped on the banks of the Tugela. Others will say that but for the timely appearance of the policy of conciliation the discontent would have been compressed till it broke out in a far more violent eruption. This view is equally incapable of proof; and the available indications are all against it.

Men's memories are short in these days, when there is so much to crowd their minds. Most people probably think of the troubles in India as co-existent with the reign of Lord Morley and Lord Minto. In reality, the year 1906 was one of quietude. The hopes of the Bengalis that the arrival of a new Ministry would bring the reversal of the Partition had to be disappointed; but in February the Secretary of State, in declining to reopen the question, was able to state that the agitation was subsiding. It seems that, from the way in which the

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separation in preference to Eastern Bengal or Orissa. One of the most prominent men in this movement was a Mr S. Sinha, a Behar barrister. On the passing of the Councils Act, Mr Sinha obtained a seat in the Bengal Council, and was then elected by the Bengal Councillors as one of their representatives in the Viceroy's Council, to the rejection of several strong candidates. So little is the idea of partition really resented among the Bengalis themselves.

statement was made, the agitators gathered that Mr Morley meant that he was prepared to yield to pressure if it were sufficiently importunate and persistent. At any rate, the movement was revived with some vigour in the autumn; yet the year passed away quietly, concluding with a National Congress in which Mr Dadabhai Naoroji delivered a presidential address of the familiar type pitched in the usual key. Early in 1907 the Government found it necessary to pass a temporary Ordinance for the prevention of seditious meetings; but, as nothing was done to make it effective, the agitation grew until, in May, the sudden arrest and deportation of the two ringleaders in the Punjab revealed the full seriousness of the situation. From that time forward the posture of affairs grew steadily worse; and the course of the Government's action was marked by a dreary series of special measures, introduced on each occasion with elaborate apologies for their anti-popular character, and as regularly assailed by hostile critics as provoking by their 'repressive' action the growth of the sedition and violence they were intended to overpower.

But the point is that Lord Morley and Lord Minto had ample time to set the house in order. It took a full year and a half, in fact, for the people to shake off completely their respect for order and authority. The other point to be borne in mind is that during all this time the prospect of reform had been dangled in full view of the country. In his first Indian Budget speech, July 1906, Mr Morley plainly foreshadowed what was coming. The Viceroy, he said, would appoint a small Commission (a big name for a Committee of the Executive Council) to consider what reforms could be expediently introduced with regard to the extension of the representative elements in the Legislative Councils. He added that a definite move ought to be made to give competent, tried natives some access to the higher administrative posts. Here were the future reforms in a nutshell; but the agitation grew and darkened. In March 1907, in his Budget speech, the Viceroy went into the subject more explicitly, saying that a despatch had gone home containing the proposals of the Indian Government. Within a few weeks of this sedative announcement the campaign of sedition broke out in full force

in the Punjab, bringing with it the era of summary deportations.

At the beginning of 1908 Mr Morley, speaking to an amendment on the Address, said that it was notorious that he had inherited great difficulties from his predecessor, but added the astounding statement that the situation 'now showed enormous and extraordinary improvement.' A month or two later, the murder of two ladies at Mozufferpore proclaimed that the ranks of disorder had been reinforced by the assassin and the bomb. Throughout this time, each successive step in the policy of conciliation seemed to bring a fresh access of exasperation. With common consent the political classes united in condemning the scheme as a mockery of their expectations. Mr Keir Hardie, reflecting the views of his Indian entertainers, wrote that Lord Morley had better have cut off his right hand than be a party to proposals so iniquitous. The execution by the Secretary of State of his part of the contract by the appointment of two Indians to his Council had not the least effect on the outcry. The appointments were universally stigmatised as a careful selection of nullities. In short, if any inference can be drawn from men's words and conduct as to their feelings, one would be obliged to conclude that the political classes, however much they disliked Lord Curzon, detested, during these three years, the rule of Lord Morley and Lord Minto fifty times more heartily.

In reality it is as vain to look for consecutive and rational motives in the action of the Indian Nationalists as in the course of the Sepoy rising fifty years before them. The Sepoys generally broke out at the most unfavourable times, in the most unlikely places, and usually killed those officers to whom they had most reason to be attached. The disorder of to-day has been quite as wayward and incoherent. If the leaders of the political party had had at the beginning of 1906 any real policy, any genuine aspirations for constitutional reform, it is obvious that they would have passed round the word for adhesion to the incoming Radical Government. They are quite shrewd enough to have perceived that by taking such a line they could have gained almost anything they chose to ask for. But the truth is that the



*pax Romana* is apt to be uncommonly dull; and the 'English-educated' are just as ready to take advantage of any relaxation of authority in order to have their fling, as were the freebooters and partisans of ninety years ago. It is only the weapons that are different.

In this case the agitators started with the cry of *swadeshi* and with the boycott. The former, which means no more than encouragement and preference for the home market, is a harmless and even a laudable idea. The boycott, which involved the terrorising of merchants and the destruction of British goods, and speedily led the way to the formation of associations for gang-robbery, whose proceeds were supposed to be devoted to the purposes of the Nationalist movement, should not have been tolerated for an instant. What respect can subsist for the ruling country that suffers her subjects openly to proclaim and enforce an embargo on her own goods? On whatever foundation the British rule may rest, whether on moral force or physical, it does not rest upon permitting its subjects to proscribe British goods as such, to search traders' premises and stock, to destroy the obnoxious articles, and to assault their importers. It was out of the boycott practised in this form that the politico-criminal associations developed; and to allow a large class of young men to become familiar with the idea of crime covered by some ulterior sanction is to invite very awkward developments. If the practice of boycott had been permitted to establish itself in Upper India, as it was in Bengal, the state of affairs by 1908 might have become really critical.

It would require a volume to discuss all the different causes contributing to the universal feeling that the Government of India had passed into weak and wavering hands. One instance may suffice—that of the Seditious Meetings Bill. Originally enacted as an Ordinance in the spring of 1907, this measure came up for legislative confirmation six months later. The measure cannot be described as a rigorous one. It affects the ordinary state of civil life in no way; but, if a province or district is disturbed, the Government may proclaim it, and then in this proclaimed area public meetings may not be held without notice and permission; and, if the permission is abused, speakers who transgress

and deliver inflammatory speeches are liable in penalties. The first consideration, of course, is that, unless a district makes itself notorious, it remains absolutely unaffected by the Act. But perhaps it may be said that zealous officials will be for proclaiming a district on any pretext. Far from that being the case, zealous officials are so reluctant to ask the invidious boon of special powers, with the risk of being told that it is their own administration that is in fault, that there is no length to which agitation cannot go before local authorities will apply for the necessary permission. Six months after the passing of the Act, the whole of Madras was astir with these seditious meetings. Schoolboys openly deserted the class-rooms to flock round lecturers who preached that, if only two or three persons in each district would give their lives for the cause, British administration would be at an end. By the exertions of a couple of these preachers the placid, remote district of Tinnevely was thrown into a tumult in which the mob got the upper hand of the unprepared officials, and, if it had not been composed of the mildest of Hindus, would have wrecked and looted the town. The wholesale demoralisation of the placid population of Madras was in fact perhaps the most serious symptom of the time, regarded as an indication of what might happen elsewhere. Yet the Seditious Meetings Act remained on the shelf. Not a portion of the troubled Presidency was proclaimed.

The Government of India had taken away the character of its own measure by consenting, while it was passing through Council, to limit its operation to three years. Insisting that it was quite unobjectionable, they made a merit of deciding that its benefits should be temporary; and it is no wonder, therefore, that the Government of Madras should have been reluctant to re-open such a delicate subject by applying for its protection. But in January 1910, the Government of India went entirely round, and suddenly extended the operation of the Act to provinces in which it had not previously been applied, without so much as consulting the local Governments concerned, as to whether they wanted it or not. A few months later the hot fit was again succeeded by the cold. The three years' duration assigned to the measure was expiring; and it became a question

whether its powers should be retained or allowed to lapse. Lord Minto's Government chose the course of yet one more re-enactment, to last for six months—thereby retaining its powers long enough to serve the purpose of the existing régime, and bequeathing to the new Viceroy the dilemma of having to relinquish a safeguard which they had repeatedly declared to be indispensable, or to make it permanent after its invidiousness had been as repeatedly emphasised.

The cause of the deplorable flaccidity betrayed in the handling of this and other questions during the past quinquennium lies below the surface. It is to be found in the change that has been silently introduced by Lord Morley into the working of the system of government. The superior agency of Indian administration consists of a Secretary of State and Council in London, and of a Governor-General and Council in India. The Council of the Secretary of State is an advisory board; the Council of the Governor-General is an administrative Cabinet, whose members are each in charge of some particular branch or branches of the State's functions. But in either case the members have a joint and common responsibility with their chief for all that is done in the name of the body. Still the extent of their participation in the affairs of the Government is largely discretionary. There are certain matters, chiefly in the field of finance, in which the Secretary of State cannot legally act without the concurrence of his Council; and the formal provision that the Council shall meet at least once a week was evidently intended to ensure the maintenance of a close business association. On the other hand, it is in the competence of the Secretary of State to withdraw other things from the cognisance of his Council; and, in fact, as he alone decides what shall go before it, and the members have no initiative, it is in his power to keep them less informed of the course of affairs than the secretaries and clerks of the office.

Lord Morley has from the first shown an aversion to the Council system, doubly strange in a disciple of John Stuart Mill, who in a famous passage pronounced its encomium, at the same time entering his warning against the day when it would be threatened by 'the ignorance

and vanity of political men.' While his colleagues in the Ministry were paying testimony to the shrinkage in the value of fixed incomes by doubling their own salaries and increasing those of their subordinates, Lord Morley's first act was to reduce the modest incomes of his Council from 1200*l.* to 1000*l.* a year. As the Council had only a few years before been reduced from fifteen members to ten—a total saving of 6000*l.* per annum—cheeseparing at its expense was not a necessity of the Indian Empire; to say nothing of the fact that Lord Morley, by his addition to the Executive Councils in India, has already cost the country six times as much as will eventually be saved at Whitehall. The salaries of the Indian Council called for increment rather than reduction; and, as economy could not have been the real motive for their treatment, we are forced to conclude that the design was to lower the Council in the eyes of the world, and to show how little store the Secretary of State set by it. Similarly Lord Morley's action in passing over officials and ex-officials to bestow the first vacancy at his disposal on an Indian educationalist with absolutely no experience outside his own college, and subsequent appointments in which the world has looked for the motives usually at the bottom of capricious patronage, have probably been due merely to the feeling that anyone would do for a Council. A good councillor, in Lord Morley's view, is a person who may be useful to his chief by the light he may throw on a matter by an opinion. He should not be the sort of person who will press for its acceptance.

The rule which prescribes that the India Council shall meet once a week has no counterpart in the case of the Council of the Governor-General in India. None the less, the weekly meeting of the Executive Council was, until Lord Minto's time, so much an understood thing that it might have been regarded as part of the constitutional machinery. Sir Courtenay Ilbert, in his work on the Government of India constitutionally considered, says 'the Council usually meets once a week, but special meetings may be summoned at any time.' The 'usually' is a qualification necessitated by the migrations to and from the hills and by the tours of the Viceroy; but, whenever the Government has been collected either at Simla or Calcutta, the weekly Council-day has been

practically an invariable observance. What induced Lord Minto to break away from the custom of all his predecessors it is not easy to divine. He is the last man who could be accused of an arbitrary temper or of a desire to appear to fill the stage alone. But, whatever his idea may have been, it is certain that he drifted into a practice the consequences of which he, being new to the work of administration, probably did not grasp, but which ultimately he had reason to regret. We believe it to be a perfectly accurate statement that, during the year 1908, when the seditious agitation was at its climax and the Government was constantly busy with urgent measures for dealing with it, as well as with the final shaping of the constitutional reforms—during all this critical year the Council met just twelve times. It was apparently considered that all that was necessary could be very well settled by private correspondence between the Viceroy and Lord Morley. The system was a most convenient one for the Secretary of State, who could always meet Parliamentary critics with some communication from the man on the spot upholding his own views. Its necessary result as regards India was that the Government lost cohesion and force. While the Viceroy was giving all his attention to Whitehall, the Members of Council fell back upon the affairs of their several departments. The sense of a common purpose and policy evaporated; and the Provincial Governments, when they most needed to be in touch with the supreme Government, were left to get along by their own lights, without any guidance as to its intentions.

On the other side, the consequences of Lord Minto's methods, while no less unfortunate, have been more notorious. The Government of India, while it holds together, must always possess a respectable strength. A despatch of the Governor-General in Council is an expression of opinion that cannot be entirely ignored. The Secretary of State, with a mandate from England behind him, may over-ride it, even if unanimous; but this is recognised to be a violent proceeding open to subsequent criticism, and will not be lightly adopted. A Viceroy, however, who leaves the constitutional path and shifts the centre of affairs to the office of his private secretary, deprives himself of all his natural safeguards.

The two-man Government which he thus sets up inevitably becomes one-man Government, the Government of him who has the last word. As between Lord Morley and Lord Minto, unsuspicious, unambitious, unassertive, the result was never doubtful. Too late in the day, the Viceroy realised the position into which his easiness had led him; and all accounts from India are at fault if during the last months the relations between the two confederates were not strained almost to breaking-point. As the time for his departure drew nigh, Lord Minto must have become conscious that he was not leaving behind him a measure that could be called his own. The more earnestly he asserted himself the father of the constitutional reform scheme, the more convincedly the British Press ascribed the paternity to Lord Morley. The loss of reputation thus incurred by the Viceroy is a blow to our prestige and therefore to our security in India hardly less serious than that dealt by the defeat of Lord Curzon in his dispute with the Commander-in-Chief and his consequent retirement from the field.

The newspapers may have been impolite, but, in ticketing the infant scheme, as they almost invariably did, 'Lord Morley's Reforms,' it cannot be said that their instinct was very much astray. One has only to look at the modifications which the measure underwent in course of construction. The central aim of the original proposals, as shaped in India, was to make adequate provision for the representation of the aristocracy, the landowning and the mercantile classes—who under existing conditions had no avenue for entrance into public life and for the exercise of their legitimate influence—and especially to curtail the predominance of the lawyers, who were making a monopoly of the Councils as they stood. In both the Imperial and the Provincial Legislative Councils it was proposed to preserve the official majorities; and, except for their greatly increased numbers and the extended facilities for discussion of the budgets, the Councils would have had little more power under the new system than under the old. It was not to be expected or desired that so large a scheme should pass to fulfilment unmodified; but the changes in this case have been more remarkable than the original proposals. The whole of the constructive,



conservative features—the Council of Chiefs, the Council of British Indian notables, the Advisory Councils, whether imperial or provincial—have disappeared *en bloc*. It is not perhaps clear that any practical gain would have been served by their retention; but evidently there was no attempt to persevere with them after the difficulties had been pointed out.

In regard to the Legislative Councils, the Government of India had by 1908 come to the conclusion that an official majority might be dispensed with, both in the Imperial and Provincial assemblies. The Secretary of State interposed, and decreed the retention of a majority on the Viceroy's Legislative Council. The proposals of the Government of India merely glanced at the question of Executive Councils for the Provinces. They recognised that the increase of work and responsibility thrown upon the heads of Provinces by the new system might render it desirable to strengthen their hands by creating such Councils, or by reinforcing the existing bodies in Madras and Bombay; but they added emphatically that to discuss these contingencies, until experience had been gained of the working of the new legislatures, would be premature. Yet, when the Bill issued from the hands of the Secretary of State, it was found that Lord Morley, overruling this opinion, had made provision for an increase of the Councils of Madras and Bombay, and for the introduction of the council system in the chief Provinces administered by Indian civilians as Lieutenant-Governors.

The reasons were characteristic. It was held desirable that a Lieutenant-Governor should be fortified by the co-operation of two or more competent advisers—always 'advisers' with Lord Morley—with a responsible share in his deliberations. It would seem, therefore, that Lord Morley, however little he likes the council system indoors, has a strong conviction of its advantages for other people. This feature of the scheme was not only introduced in direct opposition to the wishes of the Government of India, but it was the feature that excited most criticism in the House of Lords, where alone the Bill was seriously discussed. It may be said that the whole weight of responsible opinion was against the Secretary of State; but all arguments he put aside with a few deft generalities and pursued his solitary way.



It was a strange course for a man who professes to set so much value on advice; but the truth is that by the autumn of 1908 Lord Morley had begun to see these matters from a separate standpoint of his own. Down to that time the reforms, universally flouted and scouted by the educated of all shades, had merely seemed to add excitement to the agitation. But in the interval between the adjournment and the autumn, Mr Gokhale and other leading Indians, genuinely concerned (we may suppose) at the spread of anarchism, went to England to see the Secretary of State. It is admitted that a memorandum conveying the terms of the Constitutionalists was put in by Mr Gokhale. It is denied that any bargain was struck. But from this point the language of Lord Morley seemed to undergo a perceptible change. His attitude in conducting the Bill through the House of Lords was that of a man whose mind is made up, and who therefore feels discussion to be profitless and somewhat irritating. His obvious desire to keep clear of details, his nervous anxiety lest the House should alter any feature in the scheme as presented to it, his general deprecation of criticism, were all strongly suggestive of some tacit understanding.

On the other side, Mr Gokhale was true to the unwritten compact. He returned to India on the eve of the National Congress; and in a moment the proceedings of that body were transfused with an entirely new spirit. In place of boycott and *swadeshi* and abstention, the word was changed to 'association,' as easily as Bovril changes to Whisky on a transparency in Leicester Square. Having once started on the new path, the Constitutionalists, headed by Mr Gokhale, have found it so much to their liking that no words are now too good for the once execrated scheme. How things would have ultimately turned out if the reforms had been carried in the teeth of the classes most concerned is mere speculation; but, since there is no gainsaying that for the measure in the form it has taken, as for its reception, Lord Morley is responsible, it is a true instinct that fastens on him, for better or worse, as its real author.

For the present the outlook is decidedly propitious. There was a moment, indeed, when Lord Morley's predilection for mixed electorates, coming into direct

collision with Lord Minto's undertaking to the Mahommedans, threatened a relapse into discord. Fortunately it was, in this instance, the Secretary of State who gave way; and the ridiculous threats of the Hindus, that they would give no countenance to the new Councils unless they were included in the same fold as their Mahommedan friends, were forgotten by the time that the elections came on.

The new legislatures were brought into existence in January last; and as the working session of most of the Councils comes to an end with the passing of the budgets at the close of the official year on March 31, the new system has had too short a trial to warrant positive opinions. But the promise is excellent. The very first business that the Viceroy's Legislative Council was called upon to undertake was a Bill (the second of its kind in Lord Minto's sympathetic reign) for the curbing of the Press; and the discussion certainly revealed a much more catholic and statesmanlike spirit than would have been found in the old assembly. The discussion of the Budget also showed an advance on previous performances, though marked by the usual weakness in finance of Indian members, who begin by expatiating on the poverty of the masses and the pressure of taxation, and end with schemes of education and sanitation that would demand tens of millions. But the system of class representation—the cardinal feature of the new Councils as a whole—under which a man must himself belong to the constituency for which he sits, has already, by eliminating the 'carpet-bagging' lawyer, given more weight and character to the Councils, and most noticeably to the Council of the Viceroy. It is easy, in fact, to foresee that the day may come when it will be a power in the land, in the event of any 'mandate' that is felt both by the Government and public to be an injustice to the interests of India. In the event, for instance, of another scheme such as Mr Brodrick's, under which 30,000 British troops were to be permanently garrisoned in South Africa, half of them at India's expense, there is no doubt that the feelings roused by such a proposal, being shared by officials and non-officials, would find very forcible expression in the Council; and this solid opposition is a force with which arbitrary British Ministers will have to reckon.

In the absence of such outside stimulus, the members representing different provinces, races and interests appear to make up a rather promiscuous and disjointed assembly. In time, no doubt, a certain *esprit de corps* may spring up among them; but, in spite of association, it remains to be seen whether the Hindus can ever coalesce really and permanently with any other condition of men. Not less than the Jews of Palestine, they are a peculiar people. They join others only to withdraw into themselves; and within Hinduism itself the divisions are as strongly marked as the separations of nationality without. The great mercantile class, which was the only middle class before British rule created the professions, and which forms, industrially speaking, the cement of Indian society, pursues its own interests regardless of the influence it might exercise in the field of politics.

In regard to the Executive Councils, wherein the Government of India would have postponed innovation but were compelled to accept it, it cannot be seriously supposed that the Indian members added to the Councils of Bombay and Madras will produce any difference in the efficiency of the administration; while in Bengal the difficulty experienced in getting together a Council of any sort will probably defer for some years any extension of the experiment. The way in which the new membership was passed round on offer to every Indian in the province who could be considered at all eligible throws a world of light on the importance that is really attached to it, as well as on the present-day value of those bloated salaries to which the Anglo-Indian looks as the prizes of a long service. The throwing open of a membership of the Viceroy's Council was a very different affair. On this point the sentiments which Lord Morley professed were unexceptionable.

'Suppose there were in Calcutta' (he said, foreshadowing the appointment of Mr Sinha) 'an Indian lawyer of large practice and great experience in his profession—a man of unstained personal and professional repute, in close touch with European society and much respected, and the actual holder of important legal office. Am I to say to this man, "In spite of all these excellent circumstances to your credit, in spite of your undisputed fitness . . . usage and prejudice are so strong that I dare not appoint you?"'

In reality Mr Sinha did not want Lord Morley to say anything at all to him; but, as Lord Morley was very anxious to make the appointment, he reluctantly accepted the office, and subsequently relinquished it on the first opportunity.

As a personal matter, Mr Sinha's appointment was well received everywhere; but it excited the inevitable cry from the Mahommedans that they must have a representative of their own in the Government of India. This gave Lord Morley an opening for some more sound doctrine. To a Moslem deputation he replied: 'I want to say that reference to the Hindu community or the Mahommedan community, in respect to the position of the Viceroy's executive, is entirely wide of the mark, I know, both of the Viceroy and myself.' Lord Morley might have added 'and of every other instructed person.' The members of the Governor-General's Council do not occupy their posts for the sake of throwing in a word of advice as to the sentiments of particular communities; they are there to discharge certain very onerous duties, requiring special knowledge and experience, in connexion with their own departments, besides being presumed to have reached a pitch of statesmanship which can look impartially on the claims and clamours of class. There is no more room really for Hindu or Mahommedan members, as such, than for English, Welsh or Scottish members, or for members with light hair in succession to those with dark. But Lord Morley, after preaching the good word, proceeded to stultify himself by selecting as Mr Sinha's successor a Mahommedan barrister whose one apparent recommendation is that he is a Mahommedan.

The result is that public opinion seems to have already made up its mind that the legal membership is to be reserved for all time to natives of the country, and bestowed in regular see-saw between the two races. This conclusion is a serious matter. The Government of India is weak enough, as it stands, on the legal side, and has none of the abundant legal assistance to fall back upon that is available to an English Ministry. The drafting of laws is not an accomplishment that is acquired by race-sympathy in the course of a practising career; and the prospect of this branch of the country's work being entrusted in perpetuity to men who have

arrived or are arriving at the Calcutta Bar may well have caused some dismay. Yet to depart from the practice first repudiated and then adopted by Lord Morley will be to raise an outcry of reaction and ill-faith against any future authority that ventures to disregard the precedent.

In short, in any consideration of Indian affairs during the last five years, it is a case of Lord Morley everywhere. Were we to digress into the field of military administration, it is with him that we should be occupied as the real arbiter. His Indian speeches are the text-books of the British public. Nor can those who are in a position to criticise them withhold their tribute of admiration. Especially must they admire the art with which utterances, every syllable of which must have been weighed, are brought into the easy and natural tone of an arm-chair conversation. Closer consideration reveals that beneath this seemingly unstudied style lurks as much of unfair imputation, of artificial antithesis, of avoidance of issues by a turn of irony, of battering in of open doors, as may be found in the grossest platform oratory.

'There are two rival schools' (said Lord Morley in answer to Lord Curzon, in closing the debate on the Councils Bill), 'one of which believes that better government of India depends on efficiency, and that efficiency is, in fact, the main end of our rule in India. The other school, while not neglecting efficiency, looks also to what is called political concession.'

He was as much for efficiency, he continued, as any man, but he looked also to concession; and Lord Curzon, had he been able to speak again, would have doubtless said that he was as much as any man for concession, but that he looked also to efficiency. So that there are not two schools at all, but one school, which has to look at things differently in different times and circumstances. You must have conciliation, said Lord Morley; 'you cannot blow men from guns.' But who wants to blow men from guns? He derided imaginary opponents who cried for 'martial law and no damned nonsense'; but he endorsed the policy of arresting troublesome characters and consigning them without trial to confinement at pleasure. The results of this vigorous action, we are assured, were most whole-

some; but it hardly lies with its authors to fasten an imputation on persons unspecified of wishing to suspend the ordinary law.

The constant idea running through Lord Morley's mind was to treat the reforms scheme as a salve for sedition—as though the two things had anything to do with each other. Clearly it is a humiliation both for the Government and for the people of India, and especially for the people of the provinces who remained clear of the seditious agitation throughout, to treat the departure from which so much is hoped as the price of the purchase of their loyalty. But Lord Morley seems to have derived his views from the clever political Indians who came over to interview him, well primed with sentiments from his own books; and in consequence all he saw of India was Poona and Bengal. His one thought was to 'rally the moderates,' meaning thereby the small class to which his visitors belonged; and that in the end he did rally them was a remarkable achievement of personal ascendancy. But as to the real moderates, the vastly greater portion of the people who are at heart with the Government, but who will not go in front, and require a lead from it—for them he does not appear to have had any recognition. These looked for a sign, and can merely have been puzzled and perplexed by a Secretary of State who warmly repudiated the notion of parliamentary institutions, but pressed for representation and for institutions as much like parliaments as possible; who ridiculed the idea of 'a fur coat for the man in the Deccan,' but was bent on giving him a good Irish frieze; who spoke of the enormous dangers of arbitrary power, and locked up suspicious Bengalis by the batch; who pulverised the pretension of race as a qualification for a councillorship, and selected a Mahomedan simply that he might succeed a Hindu.

Blended conciliation and repression, we have lately heard from the India Office, was the only true policy. As if such a line of action was a policy at all; as if both were not essentially expedients that should be unnecessary in any sound society! But most unfortunate was the conception of government by sugar and stick when it came to be applied to sentences, mitigations and releases. The presumption that clemency to misdoers will be a potent gratification to the population at large is not flattering

to the public tone; but it was a presumption which ran through all the actions of the Government. Lord Morley's attitude in this matter has been much as if the Home Secretary in November had thought to appease the Welsh miners by a pardon to Crippen.

Finally, the habitual gloom of Lord Morley's speeches has served to darken the aspect of India most unduly in the minds of his countrymen. Absorbed himself in political interests, he would appear to have taken no heed of the economical development of the country, or his views would have surely been brighter. During his time India has been visited by one severe famine, and it suffered simultaneously from the world-wide trade depression that followed on the financial collapse in the United States in the autumn of 1907. But the rapidity with which it has thrown off the effects of these disasters is in itself an encouragement. The benevolent suggestions that crop up from time to time in English papers for the relief of India, such as that half the expenses of the German Crown Prince's tour should be borne by the English Exchequer, show a strange misconception of the position. The Indian taxpayer would be a singular person if he wished to change lots with those of most European countries. Instead of an increase of burdens he has recently known nothing but remissions.

The salt tax, the only tax falling on the landless man, has been successively reduced to a total amount of 60 per cent. The poorer among the professional classes have been relieved of income tax by the raising of the line of exemption to a height which has freed 60 per cent. of the taxable class. Local taxation of the landed classes in the form of rates and cesses, ear-marked more or less for various services, has been taken off liberally, probably as much to the surprise as the relief of those affected. And all this has coincided with vastly increased expenditure on productive public works, on measures of progress indirectly remunerative, such as education and research, and on ends that will add to the general well-being and comfort of the people, such as sanitation and the improvement of the police. Had Lord Morley and Lord Minto chosen to expatiate now and again on this text, they would have produced a juster picture of the condition of the country; but to them these vital facts seemed to



be of no account. It is true that in March last the Finance Minister considered it incumbent on him to provide against a deficit by fresh taxation to the extent of almost half a million ; but this increment was thrown mostly upon the shoulders of Anglo-Indians, a class which cannot hit back ; and moreover it was unnecessary, since it is already certain that, instead of a deficit, the year will end with a large surplus.

But these adjustments or misadjustments are after all a small matter. The important thing is that, along with a reduction of what is demanded by the State, the material prosperity of the country is advancing very fast. The wages of the unskilled labourer have mounted to a point undreamed of till within the last decade. The evidences of a rising standard of life are apparent on every hand. A few years ago the cigarette was unknown among the people ; the consumption of imported cigarettes is now enormous. The rapidly increasing use of ice and soda-water is another sign of advance. Instead of suppressing such tendencies, the Government should encourage them.

With a man who is content with some cakes of coarse flour, a cruse of oil, and a loin-cloth for raiment, nothing can be done. When he acquires wants there is some hope of his rising. It is true that India is still a very poor country ; but this reflection derives its force from our invariable habit of contrasting India with England, whereas from the economic efficiency and conditions of the population it should rather be compared with Southern Italy or Russia. Famine is the periodical setback with which Indian progress has to contend ; but against famine, apart from what has been done by the Government, there are two growing barriers. One is the rise in the general standard of living, the other the development of industries and manufactures ; and the signs of advance in this direction are not less marked than in the other. The conversion of India into a great manufacturing country may come with the rapidity of the rise of Japan. How small, in the light of such a development and its consequences, appear the questions which have been the exclusive occupation of the twin rulers of the country !

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**Art. 11.—POLITICS AND PARTIES IN THE UNITED STATES.**

*The American Commonwealth.* By James Bryce. Two vols. New edition, completely revised throughout, with additional chapters. New York : Macmillan, 1910.

MR BRYCE'S great work on 'The American Commonwealth' is too well known and, with justice, too highly valued to need recommendation here. It has become almost a classic. Its breadth of view and depth of insight, its combination of sympathy with sound judgment and impartiality, the mass of information which it contains, and the skill with which that information is set forth, make it a model for books of the same kind. A new edition of the work has just appeared, to which we are glad to call attention. Conditions change so rapidly in the United States that, although only fifteen years had elapsed since the last fully revised edition was published, another thorough revision was found necessary. This has accordingly been made by the author, who has not only corrected what no longer corresponded to the facts, and amplified or amended what had become inadequate, but has also added many notes on new phenomena, and, what is especially interesting, four new chapters on subjects which have risen to importance, or undergone remarkable development, since the first edition appeared.

These new chapters are concerned with the huge influx of immigrants from central and southern Europe (cap. 92), the more recent phases of the negro problem (cap. 95), the new transmarine dominions of the United States (cap. 97), and the later development of American Universities (cap. 109). The first three, it is obvious, call attention to great and difficult questions, not the less important because—with the exception of the territorial acquisitions, which interested the public for a short spell after the Spanish-American war—they do not bulk large in American politics or form the battleground of parties. The American people is, for the most part, very optimistic; it does not ignore these difficulties, but it is inclined to leave them to settle themselves.

For the immigrants it relies on its powers of absorption, on the civilising and nationalising influences of

American laws and institutions, above all on education. For the negro—well, he refuses to be absorbed, and the white man declines to admit him to an equality; but, after all, it is primarily a Southern concern. As for the overseas dominions, a small knot of enthusiasts is anxious to surrender the Philippines, or at least to fix a date when the Filipinos shall be allowed to govern themselves; but Uncle Sam is not likely to give up what he has got, and the great public is inclined to leave the Federal Government to arrange matters as they please.

On these questions Mr Bryce's new chapters throw a flood of light. He doubts whether the influx of aliens will be so large in the future as in the recent past.

'That there is ground for anxiety' (he says, ii, 489) 'in the presence of this vast and growing multitude of men, ignorant and liable to be misled, cannot be denied. . . . While sharing this anxiety, I must add that it is least felt by those who know the immigrant best. . . . Great is the stimulative and educative as well as the assimilative power of the American environment.'

With regard to the negro, Mr Bryce, after examining the recent changes in his condition, and setting before his readers both the optimistic and the pessimistic views of competent observers, concludes on a hopeful note. The negro, he asserts, 'is not a political danger.' He is wanted as a labourer; and, the more he advances, the more useful will his labour become to a country which urgently needs labour. 'Race antagonism is a strong sentiment; yet it may decline under the influence of reason and good feeling. . . . It is at any rate in that direction that the stream of change is running.' Of the incorporation of the transmarine dominions in the form of States Mr Bryce sees no immediate prospect. As to the future of the Philippines, Hawaii, and Puerto Rico he declines to prophesy. He indicates with equal impartiality the excellences and the defects of American universities, and remarks in conclusion (ii, 762) that 'the European observer can express now with even more conviction than he could twenty years ago the opinion that they [the universities] constitute one of the most powerful and the most pervasive forces working for good in the country.' The questions, however, which are

handled in these interesting chapters are not the questions round which the recent political conflict revolved ; and it is to American party politics, for the understanding of which a study of the larger part of Mr Bryce's book is indispensable, that we must now turn.

The United States has recently undergone a political upheaval. The forces which brought it about had been long maturing ; the change came in a day. Between sunrise and sunset on the eighth day of November the whole outlook was altered ; Democracy was exalted, and Republicanism was humbled in the dust. The attitude of the lower house of Congress was settled for the second half of President Taft's term in antagonism to the Republican policies ; the Democratic minority in the Senate was greatly strengthened ; and Governors and Legislatures became Democratic in States where for a score of years the Republicans had been triumphant.

So decisive and widespread a change expressed more than ordinary dissatisfaction with the Administration. It revealed a deep resentment at the recent course of political evolution, and a determination to visit on the Republicans, who had failed to control the great corporations, the anger of the ordinary citizen against a party which he felt had betrayed his trust. The Tariff, of course, was uppermost in men's minds ; but, if there had been no Republican revision, or if the general scale of duties had been reduced, as had been promised and expected, it is probable that the party would have received a rebuke hardly less emphatic. For in many States the Republicans had been in power so long that they had become corrupt ; their absolute dishonesty and culpable blindness to the people's interests had been repeatedly exposed ; and the electors had become thoroughly sceptical of better things emanating from their rule. It was time for a radical change and for the extension into politics of that wave of reform which has been modifying American commercial and financial life. The voters were eager to show their conviction that, if money brings power, it carries also responsibility, and that the professional politician's truckling to the corporations for personal advantage had rendered him unworthy of confidence.

This indignation could be expressed the more freely because the position of Mr Bryan and Mr Roosevelt, the two men who have dominated American politics since 1896, had recently undergone a great change. The identification of Mr Bryan with the Prohibition movement in his own State had destroyed his influence on national affairs, and with it the dread of his Radicalism, which for fourteen years had kept in the Republican ranks many men who felt hardly less repugnance for Mr Roosevelt and his anti-Trust ideas. Mr Roosevelt, on the other hand, was far from being eliminated, but had become in the political world a force of uncertain direction. Prominent enough to be above party, yet bound to party by every tie of friendship and loyalty, no one—perhaps not even himself—could say what his course would be. Ambition would naturally urge him to seek the Presidential nomination in 1912; disapproval of the influence of the 'special interests' over the Republican leaders in Congress might even convince him that it was his duty to defy the tradition against the 'third term.' Yet he was pledged never again to stand for the Presidency; and he might become almost equally powerful as the power behind the throne, the unofficial dictator, the national 'boss' of his party. But one thing was sure; he was not yet a negligible factor in politics, and on his actions would depend largely the future of Republicanism.

The verdict of the electors was crushing and decisive. In the local elections such traditionally Republican States as Massachusetts, New Jersey, Connecticut, and New York elected Democratic Governors, and followed the example which that other Republican stronghold, Maine, had set in September by overturning the party in office. The Republican majority of 50 in the House of Representatives was changed to a Democratic majority of 63; and there was returned for the first time in the history of the United States a Socialist Congressman. In the Senate it is probable that, when the State Legislatures have filled the vacancies, the Republican majority of 26 will be reduced to 12; and that so many of those who nominally support Mr Taft will be of the 'Insurgent' variety that, for some purposes at any rate, the Democrats will be able to sway the Upper House.

In American Federal politics, it must be remembered that the leading Senators occupy a position hardly less powerful than that of an English Cabinet Minister, and that to estimate the complexion of the Senate merely by counting heads is quite misleading. It is, therefore, of importance to note that, when the new Senate meets after March 4, a large proportion of the men who have led the Republican delegation for years, and have acquired notoriety as the 'Old Guard' or 'Standpatters,' will be missing. It is they who, for session after session, 'stood pat' on the tariff. It is they who opposed President Roosevelt when he tried to pass his Bills for curbing the corporations. It is they who drew up the Payne-Aldrich Tariff in such a way as to favour the manufacturers and maintain the high level of duties. Among those whose term of office expires on March 4, and who either did not seek or cannot now hope for re-election, are Senators Aldrich of Rhode Island, Hale of Maine, Depew of New York, Kean of New Jersey, and Scott of West Virginia. Only one Insurgent Republican, Senator Beveridge of Indiana, lost his seat; and he will be replaced by a Democrat, who will naturally go still further in opposition to the old school of Republicans.

Such an overturn in Congress, to say nothing of the changes in the States, could mean but one thing—dissatisfaction with the prevailing conditions, and with the man who chanced to be President during the eighteen months before the election. As yet it is too early to pass judgment on Mr Taft and his administration; and it is by no means certain that, if Mr Roosevelt had still been at the White House, the general result would have been markedly different. More than half of Mr Taft's term is yet to run; and there are indications that his quiet methods may accomplish more of value than the spectacular outbreaks of his predecessor. As Mr Roosevelt's successor and heir, he has had a difficult path to tread; and he took office at a time when it was almost impossible for him to fulfil the expectations of the masses. The Old Guard of the Republican party, relieved at last of Mr Roosevelt's control, had no desire to accept the guidance of a weaker hand; and Mr Taft showed no disposition to force them into line by the methods so familiar in the preceding seven years. He did, however, recommend a

good deal of useful legislation, and he may fairly claim credit for much that was accomplished at the first regular session of the present Congress.

Nevertheless, the country received a great shock when within a few weeks of his inauguration Mr Taft fell out with Gifford Pinchot, Chief Forester of the United States, who was the embodiment of Mr Roosevelt's progressive conservation policy; and the dispute cast unpleasant doubts on the integrity of Richard A. Ballinger, the new Secretary of the Interior. Not one in ten thousand of the electorate ever made himself acquainted with the rights and wrongs of the controversy; but it was known in a general way that the man who for two years had been lauded as the saviour of the natural resources of the country had left the Government service, and there were suspicions that a member of the new Cabinet was unduly subservient to the moneyed interests.\*

Then came the changes in the Tariff, a bitter disappointment to the people. They had looked for a substantial reduction of the duties all round, and they watched with amazement the process of the formulation of the Bill, in which every interest but that of the ultimate consumer seemed to be considered. The actual rates to be paid by an importer, it was discovered, had been set forth in so complicated a form that it was impossible for the man in the street to understand what they were. But it was generally believed—and it is with the general belief that this article is alone concerned—that the voters had been deceived and betrayed. Men thought of Mr Roosevelt and the way in which he would have acted, if he still had been at the White House. They sighed for the waving of the 'big stick' and the thunderous denunciations which had so often enforced the President's will. Those familiar with the temper of the Senatorial majority might declare that if President Taft had followed his predecessor's example, no tariff revision of any kind could have been effected; but this was cold comfort to men who groaned under the increased cost of living, and believed it to be largely due to the policy of high protection. At all events, it disgusted them with the men

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\* Since the elections, a congressional committee, after a thorough investigation of the charges against Mr Ballinger, has declared by a large majority that they were utterly baseless.



into whose hands the Republican party had committed the country; and they were blind to the efforts made by Mr Taft to ameliorate the situation. After all, these efforts were somewhat tame. Mr Taft vetoed the lumber schedule, but approved the wool duties, against which the outcry was greatest and most justifiable. He brought about the appointment of a Tariff Board to gather material for a scientific revision of the Tariff, but lost the popularity such an innovation might have conferred by repeatedly declaring in public speeches that the revision was in the main an excellent one.

It was, therefore, not surprising that the Republican candidates faced their constituents last November with heavy odds against them. The Tariff was uppermost in men's minds; and they overlooked the real reforms which President Taft had accomplished—the Act admitting Arizona and New Mexico to statehood; the Act taxing corporations, with its important publicity features; the Act setting up a Commerce Court, to introduce better regulation of railroad freight rates; and the Act establishing Postal Savings Banks. They had no confidence that President Taft would throw his influence on the side of the people in its struggles with the corporations, and they remembered that, in the fight against 'Joe' Cannon, Speaker of the House of Representatives, and the great protagonist of the power of plutocracy, Mr Taft had held strictly aloof. They were disappointed, disillusionised and bitter; and they took the only revenge in their power by casting a decisive vote at the polls.

The election was in truth the expression in political terms of a widespread feeling of social and economic unrest. Neither the contention that there was no reason to suppose that the Democratic party would be in any way more successful than the Republican in handling the great questions before the nation, nor the argument that no political action of any sort could affect the working of great economic forces, had any influence with the electorate as it went to the polls. The voters felt that there was something wrong with the Republic, and visited their wrath on those in power.

The average American to-day is anxious and worried. There is a ceaseless feeling of the pulse of business; and

the thousands who suffered by the panic of 1907 are full of apprehension lest another catastrophe should befall them. They feel that the ideal held by their forefathers, the ideal of a great land peopled by millions living in comparative comfort on terms of approximate equality, is year by year becoming more incapable of realisation; and they are groping blindly for a remedy. It is a truism to say that the great difference between a republic like the United States and a monarchical country like England is that in the one equality, in the other social gradation, is accepted as a matter of course. But at the present juncture this difference is having an important effect on the development of American political affairs. The feeling that, after all, this equality cannot be maintained, that year by year certain fortunate individuals are gaining not only greater wealth but greater opportunities for making wealth, is galling to those who so far have not succeeded in gaining admission to the favoured class; and they distrust, not without reason, those in whose hands the resources of the country are concentrated.

A shrinkage in the chances of individual advancement is all the more unpalatable to Americans because there are among them none of the settled classes of older countries. As children they are reared on the Declaration of Independence, which thinks it sufficient to mention, among the inalienable rights of men, 'life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.' It is unfortunate that to many hundreds of thousands in the United States at the present day the one necessary condition of the 'pursuit of happiness' seems the acquirement of wealth. Without wealth they cannot enjoy the material comforts of life; without wealth they cannot hope that their children may receive a better education and follow a calling of greater social prestige than their own; and without wealth they will be, as long as they live, passed by men whom they regard as no better than themselves, and forced to bear the daily strain of modern economic conditions.

Twenty years ago the Great West provided a safety-valve for the whole country, and contained the secret of national stability as well as of individual advancement. There was room for all, and wealth for many. Any man might become a man of influence and property; and his less fortunate neighbours welcomed his achievements as

the honestly earned results of pluck and perseverance, the rewards of which could not be confined to the individual, but must benefit the country at large. All this is changed. Practically speaking, the West is filled up; and there are few chances for the ordinary man without capital or influence. Great aggregations of capital have occupied the strategic points and, by fair means or foul, by the legitimate use of money and by the purchase of State Legislators and subordinate Federal officials, have made it almost impossible for the poor pioneer to do much more than earn a living. Consequently, throughout the country, there has grown up a dread of the power of wealth. It has taken many forms, but at bottom it is always the same. President Roosevelt, as he thundered from the White House against 'malefactors of great wealth,' had this in common with the vulgar cartoons in Mr Hearst's newspapers. The trades unionists, organised in the American Federation of Labour, are fighting the same enemy as the farmers in their denunciations of 'Wall Street.' The reformers, in their cry for the conservation of natural resources, are moved by the same apprehension that makes the Socialists clamour for an overturn of the entire economic system. Each expresses his fear in his own way; and we are not here concerned with its justification. The evolution of enormously powerful corporations, inevitable and useful as they are in so wide a country as the United States, is driving men to lengths undreamt of twenty years ago, and is creating new issues and a new form of political strife, which coming generations must face.

There were, indeed, two elements in the situation which showed that the revolt of the people was not so much directed against the Republicans as against the politicians of every party. In New York and other States appeared a demand for a reform in the electoral machinery, known as the 'direct primary,' or 'direct nominations,' the object of which was to uproot the power of the 'bosses'; and from many parts of the country arose a protest against the attitude of the judiciary in its interpretation of laws, which showed a growing distrust of the impartiality of the Bench.

To appreciate the meaning of the 'direct primary' movement, which has already been successful in two-thirds of the States, the multiplicity of American elections

must be borne in mind. The Englishman knows how hard it is for the busy man to keep up with anything but national politics. Municipal and county questions he neglects, except in so far as they can be aligned with national controversies; and this difficulty is greatly accentuated in America. There the large majority of offices are elective; and an election of some sort takes place every year in most of the States. To perform his duties as a citizen, a voter must have definite opinions on the personal fitness of candidates, not only for such important offices as those of President, Governor or Congressman, but for such technical or comparatively insignificant places as those of a judge or a State engineer, a coroner or a sheriff. The result has been that, in all but the most exceptional cases, the selection of party candidates has been in the hands of the party leaders or 'bosses'; and the electors have voted the party 'ticket' with machine-like regularity. This has been brought about by the evolution of elaborate electoral machinery, which, differing as it must according to the circumstances of each State, has always given the 'bosses' power to nominate the man most useful to the party organisation, whether the best for the office or not. The agitation for direct nominations has consequently had to adapt itself to the conditions to each commonwealth, but it has always implied the crippling of the 'bosses' and the restoration of the influence of the ordinary voter in the nomination of the ticket. It is not necessary to discuss the exceedingly technical questions involved, in order to appreciate the significance of the movement as showing the general hostility felt against the professional politicians, who have so long usurped control of political affairs.

Distrust of the Courts was expressed frequently during the campaign by Mr Roosevelt. The United States has a written constitution, paramount to every law passed either by Congress or the State Legislatures, in which the rights of property are closely safeguarded; it therefore follows that, if the judges are biased in favour of wealthy men and the great corporations, the people, even though the abuses from which they are suffering are flagrant, find their remedy by legislation seriously curtailed by an adverse interpretation of the constitutional law. It was of this that Mr Roosevelt complained in a speech before the

Colorado Legislature on August 29. Speaking of the Knight Sugar Trust case he said :

'In that case, the Supreme Court of the United States, under cover of what a man whose interest is chiefly in sane constructive stewardship can only call a highly technical legal subtlety, handed down a decision which rendered it exceedingly difficult for the nation to retain control. It was a decision nominally against national rights, but really against popular rights.'

Mr Roosevelt dwelt on the negative power of the judiciary to prevent reforms and their utter powerlessness to bring about positive remedies, and went on :

'If such decisions indicated the Court's permanent attitude, there would be real and grave cause for alarm; for such decisions, if consistently followed up, would upset the whole system of popular government.'

He expressed the belief, however, that the decisions would be overridden, since they were 'in flagrant and direct contradiction of the spirit of the times' and of other decisions. The view held by Mr Roosevelt is shared by large numbers of people. They declare that Trust-made laws are interpreted by Trust-made judges, and that in consequence the Trusts stand a far greater chance of winning their cases than the ordinary citizen. They feel that, as the judges before their elevation to the Bench have generally been corporation lawyers, they are naturally biased in favour of their old clients, and do not sympathise with the general fear that money power is threatening the well-being of the Republic. Hence, in spite of the reverence for the Courts so deeply implanted in the American character, the belief is widespread that the 'bosses' who nominated the judges for election, or the officials who appointed them, have been too subservient to the 'interests.'

A further cause of discontent was the great increase in the cost of living. Official tables compiled by the Federal Bureau of Labour show that wholesale prices in March last were higher than at any time in the preceding twenty years, being 7.5 per cent. higher than in March 1909, 10.2 higher than in August 1908, and 21.2 higher than the average yearly price since 1897. Wages, it is true, have in some cases advanced, but hardly sufficiently

to maintain the wage-earner's standard of comfort ; and the majority of workers have not been in a position to obtain more for their services. They have been obliged to bear the increasing pressure as best they could, and have been convinced that their loss of comfort and their anxiety have been caused by other agencies than unavoidable economic tendencies. They have suspected manipulation on the part of the Trust magnates and multi-millionaires, and have believed that the politicians of the old school have been standing in with their oppressors, and deliberately betraying the confidence placed in them. For this reason, too, the voters were ready to wreak vengeance at the polls.

There was, then, much in the political outlook at the beginning of the summer to encourage the Democrats. As the party out of office, they stood to profit by the prevailing dissatisfaction and unrest ; and only one cloud was visible on their horizon. Ex-President Roosevelt had returned to civilisation and was making his amazing progress through Europe ; and it was evident that his intervention might profoundly modify the situation.

Mr Roosevelt disembarked on June 11, and received a most remarkable reception. For the moment the politician was forgotten ; and there was an outpouring of national enthusiasm for the man. He was greeted as an American 'private citizen,' who had stood before kings and had expressed his views with the same freedom that characterised his utterances from the White House. The people did not stop to consider his words or his actions ; they remembered only that he had proved that an American does not change his sentiments with his climate. But he had to turn this prestige and admiration into concrete form ; and it was here that his difficulty lay. In 'Harper's Weekly,' a month or so later, appeared a cartoon, which summed up exactly his situation. Mr Roosevelt was shown seated in his study with the lion of popularity at his feet. Through the window Uncle Sam was peering anxiously ; and the ex-President was buried deep in thought. 'What will he do with it?' was the question below ; and it expressed precisely the mind of the American people. They saw that the ex-President had returned just in time to take a



hand in the political game, and they watched eagerly for the first move he would make.

Popular though he was, Mr Roosevelt, owing to the peculiar institutions of the United States, found himself in a difficult position. The American constitution provides no sphere of activity for an ex-official, especially for an ex-president. By the conventions of the constitution no man is permitted to occupy the White House more than twice; and, once his service is over, he must sink into private life and let matters of State go their way without him. Other ex-presidents have done this not ungracefully. They have become university professors, active lawyers, or insurance company officials. They have been accorded a certain informal precedence as long as they have lived, and, when they have passed away, have left no great gap in the world of affairs. But they were not such men as Mr Roosevelt. They lacked his amazing energy. They were not so sure of their own opinions or so fond of the conflict. They never possessed his personal magnetism and his trick of commanding attention. So the very people who were content to permit his predecessors to drop out of sight confidently expected that Mr Roosevelt would remain a power in politics.

Oyster Bay suddenly became once more the political centre of the United States. Newspaper correspondents camped at the doors of Sagamore Hill, and politicians of every shade of Republicanism came and went on mysterious errands. In the United States matters of great moment have a way of leaking out before their official announcement; and it was soon understood that all was not well between Mr Roosevelt and the man he had placed in the Presidential chair. He had said nothing of the Taft administration and had been scrupulously silent about the Tariff. He had paid a visit to the President in his summer home at Beverly, and had apparently been on the old friendly terms with him; yet the political prophets knew that he was steadily but surely making up his mind to break what is known in American as 'party regularity,' and to range himself with the Insurgent Republicans.

Still, for a time, Mr Roosevelt gave the impression of wishing to keep away at any rate from State politics.



It was not till after his return in July from a tour through the mining district of Pennsylvania that he made himself felt in the local Republican situation. His journey was supposed to be entirely unconcerned with things political, a mere journalistic jaunt to observe the conditions under which immigrant miners live and work ; but it turned into almost a royal progress, and those who were watching Mr Roosevelt's actions believed that the adulation he received aroused his ambition.

As President, he had done much to aid the miners to win a great strike ; and they gave him a reception of the most extraordinary kind. As he passed from town to town, all work was suspended. Women knelt in the road to kiss the hem of his coat. Children were held up to catch a glimpse of the great man. An old woman of eighty, crippled with rheumatism, crawled down the mountain to shake his hand. It was enough to turn the head of anyone, and seemed to justify the conclusion that Mr Roosevelt was as strong in the East as it has always been assumed that he is in the Western States. Soon after his return to Oyster Bay it became evident that he had formed the idea of directing the Republican fortunes throughout the country.

Toward the end of August Mr Roosevelt made a tour in the West, and in the course of it not only expressed his views on Tariff revision, but proclaimed the doctrines of what he termed the 'New Nationalism.' This settled his position in Federal politics, so far as the coming elections were concerned. His speech was delivered on August 31, at the little town of Ossawatimie, Kansas, at the celebration of the memory of John Brown, that hero of the Civil War, who is best known to Englishmen by the chorus of the old marching song. Much of what Mr Roosevelt said did not differ widely from the denunciations he used to hurl from the White House at special privileges and 'malefactors of great wealth.' But, when he began to discuss the Tariff, it was perceived that at last he was burning his boats and taking his stand with the malcontents.

'There is a widespread belief among the people' (he said) 'that, under the methods of making the tariff which have hitherto obtained, the special interests are too influential. Probably this is true of both the big interests and the little

interests. 'These methods have put a premium on selfishness; and naturally the selfish big interests have gotten more than the selfish little interests.'

Mr Roosevelt went on to advocate the establishment of an expert Tariff Commission to conduct scientific enquiries into the real difference between the cost of production in America and in other countries, and to offer recommendations to Congress based on ascertained facts. He could do this without attacking Mr Taft—with whom, so far, he has not broken publicly—as the creation of such a Board has been one of the President's most strenuously urged policies. But it was a declaration of war on the Republican 'Old Guard,' for they had done their best to emasculate the President's plan; and it arrayed Mr Roosevelt against the entire system represented by such men as Senator Aldrich and Speaker Cannon.

Still more important was the ex-President's declaration in favour of the New Nationalism, i.e. the extension of the Federal power of the United States to fields which at present are left to the State Governments. He brought it forward as a remedy for evils which have grown up with the development of the country. As the means of communication have been enlarged, and great corporations have extended their operations to every corner of the land, it has become increasingly difficult for the individual States to control the conditions evolved. Many of the new problems are of an inter-State character; and yet the Federal Government cannot handle them. Thus between the Federal and State jurisdictions a neutral ground has developed, which, to quote Mr Roosevelt, has served 'as a refuge to law-breakers, and especially for law-breakers of great wealth, who can hire the vulpine legal cunning which will teach them how to avoid both jurisdictions.'

This weakness in the Federal system the ex-President set forth clearly, pointing out the confusion and impotence that springs from divided authority, and the opportunity afforded to local or sectional selfishness to favour special interests at the expense of the community. If he had stopped there he might have carried a large part of the nation with him. He was proposing an important constitutional amendment, but he was also discussing an admitted evil. Again and again, when some special

matter is under debate, such as the divorce scandal, the need of amending the employers' liability laws, or the problem of the proper supervision of life insurance companies, an extension of the Federal powers has been proposed. The meetings of State Governors, which have lately become an annual affair, are simply an attempt to adapt the present constitution to changed conditions; and so eminent an authority as Governor Woodrow Wilson has turned his attention to the problem.

There was, in fact, nothing in the proposal itself to justify the fierce antagonism which Mr Roosevelt's speech aroused; but he went on to prophesy such results from the reform that he alarmed the conservative thinkers of the nation, drove the moneyed interests to attempt a crushing blow, and even alienated many of the rank and file of the people, whose admiration for him was not strong enough to overcome their memories of the hard times that followed the panic of 1907. For Mr Roosevelt declared that the country could only right itself by a time of stress and suffering.

'I know well,' he said, 'that reformers must not bring upon the people economic ruin, or the reformers themselves will go down in the ruin. But we must be ready to face temporary disaster, whether or not brought on by those who will war against us to the knife. Those who oppose all reforms will do well to remember that ruin in its worst form is inevitable, if our national life brings us nothing better than swollen fortunes for the few, and the triumph, both in politics and business, of a sordid and selfish materialism.'

At once the electional conflict took on a personal bitterness it had lacked before. Those who opposed the ex-President found it easy to raise the historic cry of 'State Rights,' and to ask whether the nation really wished to depart suddenly from the system of government which had carried it successfully through all the perils of nearly 150 years. But their arguments were merely a mask for their hostility to Mr Roosevelt, and betrayed their fear that he might yet have the power to carry out his ideas. The rumour that he would strive to secure the Presidential nomination in 1912 was revived; and editors and speakers dinned into the electorate the argument that a vote for the Republican candidates in 1910 meant

a vote in support of Mr Roosevelt's candidature two years hence.

The national part of the political campaign closed with the return of Mr Roosevelt to the East. Thenceforward each State concentrated on its own internal affairs. To follow the issues would be as difficult as to give a full account of what determines the result of half a dozen bye-elections happening to occur nearly simultaneously in England. In the American elections, every State had its own questions to solve; though in a few in the West and the South the State vote was brought into relation with broad national issues by such movements as Prohibition and Woman's Suffrage. The prominence of Mr Roosevelt gave, however, to the purely local happenings in New York State a significance which none of the other gubernatorial contests could claim.

It was at once evident that the Republican Old Guard were determined to seize the opportunity of humiliating the ex-President. For four years he had forced on them Governor Hughes; and, under the two administrations of that stern moralist, they had found their wishes as little considered as those of the Democrats. But now Mr Roosevelt no longer wielded the mighty power of Federal patronage; and they thought they might defy him at their pleasure. Their opportunity arrived when it became known that he was seeking the nomination to the temporary chairmanship of the Republican State Convention, which was to be held in Saratoga. This is an office of great honour and considerable practical importance. The Temporary Chairman delivers the first of the two formal speeches at the gathering, which, as it is expected to express the general trend of party sentiment, is known as the 'keynote speech.' He also appoints the committees which draw up the resolutions and the list of nominations, and consequently determine on what promises and with what leaders the party shall appeal to the electorate.

As soon as the desire of Mr Roosevelt for this appointment was known, the Republican State Committee, which was in the hands of the Old Guard, met in New York, and by a snap-vote nominated instead James Sherman, Vice-President of the United States. It was a

direct slap in the face to Mr Roosevelt; and he was not the man to take such an insult calmly. He gathered his friends around him, went to the Convention, and, when the nomination of Mr Sherman was put to the meeting, secured its defeat by an overwhelming vote. This put the Old Guard to rout, and left the ex-President in control of the Convention; but it led to consequences which have seriously affected his position in the eyes of the nation, and have laid him open to the charge of insincerity. It was generally assumed that the 'platform' adopted by the Convention in these circumstances must be absolutely agreeable to him. Considering his attitude towards President Taft since his return from Africa, his best friends were startled when they read a 'plank' beginning:

'We enthusiastically endorse the progressive and statesman-like leadership of William Howard Taft and declare our pride in the achievements of his first eighteen months as President of the United States.'

Still less welcome to those who had been carried away by Mr Roosevelt's Ossawatimie criticisms of the Payne-Aldrich Tariff, was the 'plank' declaring that it had reduced the average rate of all duties by 11 per cent., had increased the national revenue by laying heavier duties on some articles not in common use, and possessed a number of other economic virtues. In particular, the last sentence—'Advances in the cost of living are only the local reflection of a tendency that is world-wide, and cannot truthfully be said to be due to the present tariff'—disappointed all who were looking to the Republicans for relief from the prevailing high prices.

Mr Roosevelt's reply to the reproaches heaped upon him was characteristic. It was an entire mistake, he declared, to say that at Saratoga he was in control of the Convention. He was its leader, not its 'boss.' What he had accomplished, such as the modification of the direct-primaries 'plank' in a Radical direction, he had accomplished by persuasion; and the newspapers which had suggested other explanations were deliberate perverters of the truth. The real 'boss,' he asserted, was to be found in the Democratic State Convention at Rochester, where C. F. Murphy, the notorious Tammany leader, had had things absolutely his own way. It was

consequently absurd to hold him personally responsible for these particular 'planks,' as they had been drawn up by the Committee on Resolutions after a thorough canvass of the views of the delegates.

For those who followed closely the course of the Democratic Convention there was something almost ludicrous in Mr Roosevelt's defence. Mr Murphy is a 'boss' of the most advanced type; but, as it happened, he did not seem much to care about forcing his will on the Rochester gathering, except so far as to secure the nomination of men friendly to himself in such minor offices as State Comptroller and State Engineer. He was sincerely anxious to secure a good man for the nomination as Governor, in the belief that this would ensure the victory of the party, from which he hoped to secure much personal pecuniary advantage in the shape of valuable contracts.

Mr J. A. Dix was not nominated by Mr Murphy as the Democratic candidate for the Governorship, as Mr H. L. Stimson was assuredly nominated on the Republican ticket by Mr Roosevelt. Mr Dix was selected by the most influential Democrats as the best available candidate; and his choice shows the new spirit that is coming over American politics. Although he was the Democratic State Chairman, he was comparatively a new-comer in the political field. He was a banker and manufacturer of good standing, popular with his employees, and esteemed highly by his business associates. He lacked oratorical gifts, but had gained his pre-eminence in the party by his force of character and power of organisation. He seemed to have nothing material to gain by entering politics; he accepted the nomination with unfeigned reluctance, and he came before the voters as a 'clean-cut' business man, who, if anyone, could carry out the usual pre-election promises of efficient and economical administration.

The campaign in New York State pursued a remarkable course. Mr Dix made but two speeches; and the Democratic leaders, believing that the logic of events was all on their side, deliberately adopted a policy of silence. Mr Roosevelt conducted a campaign as vigorous as though he, and not Mr Stimson, was running for the Governorship; but it was deeply disappointing to his

friends. He neglected the great issues of the day; he had nothing to suggest to the people as a remedy for the evils from which they felt themselves suffering; and he made no analysis of the economic problems that confronted them. Most of his speeches were devoted to personal attacks on Mr Dix and his party; and he brought charge after charge against the Democratic candidate without heeding the corrections or explanations offered.

Denunciations of the 'special interests,' and assertions that he stood for the rights of the people against property, were, of course, mingled with these diatribes; but they had become Roosevelt commonplaces, and the voters hungered for something more definite. Mr Roosevelt's criticisms of the judiciary offended many; and a feeling grew up that the chief prophet of the 'square deal' was himself denying it to his opponents and to the electors at large. Quiet thinking men remembered that this was not the ordinary ward-politician or the paid 'spell-binder,' who was befouling the reputations of all who opposed him, but an ex-President of the United States, a man who had wielded more personal power than any American of his time, and was still regarded by thousands as the embodiment of political wisdom and honesty. They grew ashamed and alarmed—ashamed at the spectacle presented to the nation, alarmed lest a Republican State victory should give Mr Roosevelt such prestige that he would be the inevitable candidate for the Presidency in 1912.

The New York Republicans, however, had no chance of success. The Old Guard leaders took revenge for their humiliation at Saratoga by apathy at the polls; while the Democrats, for once united and hopeful, were able to rely on every portion of their organisation. The great financial interests threw their influence against Mr Roosevelt's candidate; and the rank and file, disgusted with recent revelations of Republican corruption, followed their lead. Mr Dix converted a Republican majority of 69,000 in 1908 into a Democratic majority of 67,400, and carried with him into office the whole of his ticket. Moreover, the Democrats captured the New York State congressional delegation by a handsome majority, and elected a Legislature which is sure to replace Chauncey M. Depew in the United States Senate by a man opposed to



Mr Taft. In addition, Mr Roosevelt suffered defeat in his own congressional and election districts—the most galling blow of all to an American politician. Mr W. W. Cocks, who for six years had been known as Mr Roosevelt's own Congressman, was rejected by 10,000 votes; and even the ex-President's own village, Oyster Bay, showed so little regard for its foremost citizen as to give a sweeping majority against his nominee.

To follow in detail the fortunes of the parties in the other State elections would prolong this article too far, but a few things are worth noting. Mr Roosevelt is a national figure, who may be again of international import, so that it is a matter of interest that every candidate for whom he made special efforts was rejected at the polls. In Connecticut the ex-President made a specially fierce attack on ex-Judge Simon E. Baldwin, the Democratic candidate for the Governorship, on account of certain of his judicial decisions. Mr Baldwin carried the State by 3000, demolishing a former Republican majority of 20,000. To Iowa Mr Roosevelt made a journey to speak for Charles Grilk, a candidate for Congress; he was defeated. In Indiana Mr Roosevelt spoke twice in favour of Mr Beveridge, one of the most progressive Senators; a Democratic legislature was elected, which will certainly pass him over. In Ohio, President Taft's own State, Mr Roosevelt made charges against the integrity of Governor Judson Harmon; he secured re-election by a majority of over 100,000, an increase of 80,000 over his majority in 1902.

In short, defeat dogged Mr Roosevelt wherever he went; and, if ever a man retired to his home apparently discredited and broken, it was the ex-President. The fact that no one believes that he has sunk for ever below the American political horizon, or that he will not yet make himself felt in the play of parties, is a tribute to the marvellous vigour and popularity of the man and the ambition and resourcefulness of the politician.

Opposed to him on the Democratic side stood out two men whose personality is of interest, since between them will not improbably lie the Democratic choice for Presidential candidate in 1912. In New Jersey, Dr Woodrow Wilson, President of Princeton University, was at length

induced to enter the political field as candidate for the post of Governor; and in Ohio Governor Judson Harmon obtained an emphatic approval of his first administration by his triumphant re-election.

Strange as it would appear to Englishmen to suggest for so high a position the Vice-Chancellor of Oxford or Cambridge simply on the strength of his academic qualifications, there was nothing extraordinary to Americans about the nomination of Dr Woodrow Wilson. University professors, and still more university presidents, occupy in the United States a position not unlike that of the jurisconsults in Republican Rome. They are habitually invited to express their views on the great subjects of the day; and what they say has much weight as expressing advanced independent thought on the matters of which they treat.

Dr Wilson has for years been prominent as one of the chief American thinkers. His reputation as a student of political philosophy extends beyond the United States; and, as a constitutional lawyer, he has been consulted by many men far more prominent in the public eye. His campaign was in direct contrast with that waged in other States. As he stood before chance audiences of Democrats, who loved to hear their candidates 'give it to the Republicans,' Dr Wilson absolutely declined to indulge in any diatribes. He took up the great issues, and explained his views as clearly and as thoroughly as though he had been lecturing to his Princeton students. Yet his speeches were not lectures, but the highest form of political addresses. He told apt stories to illustrate his points; he caught the thrust of the heckler and turned it back with a new and dangerous point; he avoided theories and kept close to the practical difficulty. Above all he made his auditors feel that he treated them as reasonable beings who were interested in the well-being of the commonwealth and had gathered to discuss that. As the New Jerseymen watched the tall lithe figure of Dr Wilson, as they saw his clean-shaven, ascetic face light up with humour or grow earnest in argument, they felt that here was a man indeed, with deep convictions and closely-reasoned opinions, seeking their suffrages for no personal advantage, but from belief in the justice of his cause. They accepted him as the high-

est exemplar of the intellectual public man, and they elected him, politically inexperienced as he was, by a majority of 40,000 votes.

Of a different type is Governor Harmon. Like so many distinguished Americans, he has raised himself from the ranks by sheer intellectual ability and knowledge of men ; and, now that he has found a large sphere in political and business life, he carries with him the air of strength and heartiness that befits the man who has fought and won a clean and honest fight. He succeeded Mr Taft as a Judge of the Superior Court of Ohio, and was then selected by President Cleveland as his Attorney-General in his second administration. While holding this office, Mr Harmon brought on the first case under the anti-Trust laws and won it in the Supreme Court against the highest legal talent in the land. Subsequently he retired into private life, and for a time was politically under an eclipse, as Bryan dominated the Democratic party. He was drawn into large financial affairs through his appointment to receiverships of three railroads, and accepted the Democratic nomination as Governor in 1908. His election was notable as a personal triumph. Mr Taft and a Republican Legislature were elected at the same time ; but Mr Harmon's high standing in the community secured him a comfortable majority. He set himself to investigate the peculations of the State officials, and effected considerable economies by checking leaks in the public treasury and discharging useless Government employees. He stood, moreover, for the authority and dignity of the legislative branch of the constitution ; and, Democratic Governor though he was, with a Republican Legislature, he publicly avowed his belief in the strict observance of the constitutional division of functions.

With such men as Governors Harmon and Wilson forcing themselves to the front of the party, with the control of the House of Representatives and a powerful minority in the Senate, the Democrats are without question in a position of authority which they have not enjoyed since the second term of President Cleveland. The use to which they can put it is, however, controlled by several factors unknown in British politics.

In the first place, the change in Congress is unlikely to make itself felt before next December. The retiring Congress, discredited though it is, continues in office till March 4; and its successor cannot meet before December, unless Mr Taft calls it in extra session. Further, the President, as a Republican, is in theory opposed to Democratic principles, and can use all the influence of his great office to check the party's plans. Last and most dangerous of all, the new majority, as it gathers the reins of power into its hands, will feel the baneful lure of the 'spoils system,' and may make such raids on the public funds in the immediate interests of its constituents as to jeopardise seriously its success in 1912.

The retiring Congress will do practically nothing but the necessary work of government. Only one man in the United States could spur Congress on to action, and he has already declared for the avoidance of anything sensational. In his Annual Message, President Taft made many recommendations, but hardly one of them dealt with the great financial questions. He even went so far as to declare that Congress would do well not to embark on further anti-Trust legislation till the effect of the enforcement of the present statutes should be ascertained; and this implies a delay of months, if not of years. No one can tell now precisely what is the law with regard to corporations. The Sherman Law is capable of various interpretations. The Supreme Court has before it a series of cases, involving such great interests as the Standard Oil Company, the American Tobacco Company, and the group of packers known as the Beef Trust. Till these appeals have been heard, lawyers are in doubt as to what is required of the business world; and it is impossible to say in what way the law should be strengthened and improved. In other matters Mr Taft stands for delay, not through party prejudice, but through habit of mind. He advocates scientific processes of law-making; and, as he wishes an impartial Tariff Board to establish the true difference in the cost of production in America and other countries, before any alteration in the customs duties is made, so he suggests that no more shall be expended on river and harbour improvements and on public buildings, till expert commissions have decided what is wanted.

Theoretically Mr Taft is right ; but politics, especially American party politics, cannot always wait for scientific deliberations. Congressmen, who have been accustomed to satisfy their constituents by obtaining federal grants for local objects, may be impatient of the calm reasoning of this counsel of perfection ; and once more the President may find his schemes go wrong. For the recommendation smacks more of the able civil servant than the party leader ; and this has already caused the failure of many of his ideas. He has stood for good administration, but he has been careless of the effect of his acts on his party's fortunes ; and he has lacked the desire, if not the force of character, to bend men to his will.

Another danger the Democrats must face is internal dissension. It is now practically certain that next December the Tariff will be taken up and will be considered schedule by schedule. Thereby the risk of business disturbance will be reduced to the minimum, but the chances of party differences will be increased. With the South, the stronghold of Democracy, making rapid strides in industrial development, the revision of the cotton duties, for example, may bring up points of disagreement not at present foreseen. The traditional impatience of Democratic Congressmen to accept even their own leaders' directions may reappear ; and Mr Champ Clark, on whom the direction of the party will rest, may find his position as unhappy as that of a British Cabinet Minister before the importunities of the Labour members and the Irishmen.

Moreover, already the Democrats are preparing to clip the wings of the Speaker. When Mr Clark ascends the marble throne in the House of Representatives, he is likely to find that the absolute control of legislation now vested in 'Joe' Cannon is not to be his. No longer will the nomination of committees rest with the Speaker, but it will be entrusted to a Committee on Committees, in which he will only have a single voice. Just when a strong hand will be needed to keep the Democratic majority united, the power will be stripped from the one agency capable of ordering legislation to the party advantage. This change, which may amount to a revolution in the procedure of the House of Representatives, is in line with the promises of leading Democrats to restore

the authority and independence of the Legislatures, which, in the States at any rate, have been under an eclipse. Governor Dix of New York has declared that he will interfere as little as possible with legislation. Governor Harmon of Ohio, as already noted, has publicly supported the separation of governmental functions. On every side there is a disposition to limit the recent encroachments of autocratic Governors, and to reanimate the Legislatures with a sense of their responsibility to the people.

Obviously, in this return to first principles there is danger, on the one hand, that the factions of the Democrats may fritter away in disputes the two short years for which their power is secure; and, on the other, that 'bosses' of the Tammany Hall type may regard the quiescence of the Governors as their opportunity to make personal fortunes without heed of the shame they are bringing on their party. But these perils are so manifest that the new men who have come to the front cannot be blind to them. Nor can they afford to disregard them, for no one who understands the intricacy of American politics and the immensity of the stakes for which the 'special interests' are playing can doubt that the most crafty efforts will be made to decoy the Democratic party from its path.

It is certain that, if these manœuvres succeed, the people will deal out to the Democrats the same measure as they have dealt to the Republicans. What the Democrats will do, no one can say; but, with such leaders as Woodrow Wilson and Judson Harmon, perhaps with Mr Roosevelt himself, they should be able to form an organisation capable of guiding them through the difficulties of a politico-economic revolution. The money-power is to-day the great danger to American civilisation; and in one way or another, under the present leaders or under men as yet unheard of, by the old parties or combinations still to be formed, the American people will break the chains which the 'special interests' are striving to forge, and will refuse to be at the same time economic slaves and political bondsmen.

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## Art. 12.—LORD ROSEBERY'S 'CHATHAM.'

1. *Chatham: His Early Life and Connections.* By Lord Rosebery. London: Humphreys, 1910.
  2. *George II. and his Ministers.* By Reginald Lucas. London: Humphreys, 1910.
  3. *William Pitt, Earl of Chatham.* By Albert von Ruville. Translated by H. J. Chaytor, with an introduction by Prof. H. E. Egerton. Three vols. London: Heinemann, 1907.
  4. *The Cambridge Modern History.* Vol. VI, chap. XIII. *William Pitt the Elder.* By Professor Wolfgang Michael. Cambridge: University Press, 1909.
  5. *The Political History of England.* Edited by W. Hunt and R. L. Poole. Vol. IX. By Mr I. S. Leadam. London: Longmans, 1909.
- And other works.

WILLIAM PITT, Lord Chatham, and Benjamin Disraeli, Lord Beaconsfield, are two names in the political history of England which she would not willingly let die. For many years these remarkable men were, each in their several ways, the pole-stars of their country's destiny. And it is a somewhat remarkable coincidence that biographies of these two great statesmen, by writers so competent and well-informed as Lord Rosebery and Mr Monypenny, should almost simultaneously appear.

By another curious coincidence, Mr Lucas has produced a book which covers the same period as that of Lord Rosebery, and is issued, moreover, by the same publisher, in the same rather awkward form, for it ranges neither with quartos nor octavos on the shelf. We should recommend anyone who intends to read both books to begin with Mr Lucas, on the principle that the better wine should come last. In style there can be no comparison; and, while Lord Rosebery's book is in some respects masterly, that of Mr Lucas is distinctly amateurish. It is a collection of essays on George II and six of his chief Ministers. As such, it is open to the preliminary objection that the ground is, more or less, covered seven times over; and this is apt to make tire-



some reading. In 'The Ring and the Book,' it is true, the same story is told twelve times; but the interest of that great poem lies in the dramatic light thrown upon its several characters by the different points of view from which they regard the same incident. Here there is nothing dramatic; and the frequent repetitions confuse that sense of continuity and evolution which an historical work ought to produce. Mr Lucas gives us to understand that he at first projected a life of Carteret. It is a pity he did not carry out this project. It is true, as he says, that the material is lacking to make such a life complete; but enough is known, or may be collected, to make a life of Carteret both interesting and valuable; and Mr Lucas' studies of Carteret's contemporaries might have been worked into such a biography to produce a much more consecutive and readable result.

Mr Lucas has read widely, both in contemporary records and in later works, and he has brought together a great deal of information which is useful to students of the times. The anecdotes he relates, the remarks and witticisms he quotes, are often entertaining and generally illustrative; but he does not pretend there is much that is new. He is judicious in his estimates of character and, as a rule, trustworthy; but Lord Rosebery throws more light on personality in five pages than Mr Lucas does in fifty. Nearly half the chapter on the King is occupied by a dissertation on the manners and customs, the policy and society, of his reign—useful enough in its way, but having no more connexion with George II than with any other character in the book. In the course of this survey a few pages are devoted to a sketch of the Cabinet system, in which J. R. Green is quoted as an authority; and this difficult subject is very inadequately handled. 'It is beyond question,' we are told, 'that both he [George I] and his son chose and dismissed their ministers at will, and filled vacant offices as they pleased.' Any text-book of English history, any of the other books we have mentioned at the head of this article, nay, Mr Lucas' own pages on Carteret or Chatham, would show that the statement is not beyond question at all. It might have been true of Elizabeth or James I; it is by no means true of George I or his son. Only an amateur could make such a remark of the first two Hanoverian Kings. Mr

Lucas is too much in the habit of relying on recent and sometimes second-rate authors. He appeals, for instance, to Justin McCarthy as sufficient evidence for the relations between Carteret and Walpole (pp. 110, 111); an investigator with any but the most rudimentary notions of historical evidence would not have stopped here. Nor need Mr Lucas have called in Lecky to prove that, 'in domestic matters, the servant trouble was as great as we find it.' He would have done better to quote some evidence from Swift or Smollett. But Mr Lucas disarms criticism by telling us that his book 'makes no pretence to original or profound research.' It is well to know where we are; and it cannot be denied that many 'original and profound' works are much duller reading than this pleasant and gossipy volume.

We derive from Mr Lucas much the same impressions as to the characters of his subjects as we glean from Lord Rosebery's more incisive sketches. Both writers find Carteret something of an enigma. Both writers have a liking for Walpole. Mr Lucas defends him with ingenuity and effect from the charge of bribery (pp. 241-4); but, when he quotes (p. 204) the well-known story of Walpole's bet with Pulteney, he should have quoted it right. In Mr Lucas' version, Pulteney makes a mistake almost as bad as Sir Robert's, and neither should have had the guinea.\* The essay on Carteret is perhaps the best in the book, and the most needed. That on Chatham is, for the subject, slight. The story of his life is carried beyond the reign of George II; Lord Rosebery stops at 1756. Mr Lucas makes some good remarks in comparing Chatham with his son; and it was worth while, in estimating Chatham's triumphs as contrasted with the failures of the younger Pitt, to point out that the son had obstacles to contend with which the father had not to meet. But it is time to pass to the book which stands at the head of our list.

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\* The bet turned on the question whether *nulli pallescere culpæ* was (as Walpole averred) correct. Pulteney asserted that the words should run *nulla pallescere culpa* (Hor. Ep. I, i, 61); and the clerk at the table, quite rightly, gave his judgment for Pulteney. Mr Lucas makes Pulteney correct Sir Robert by substituting *nullæ* for *nulli*. The first of these forms of the dative is indeed found, but is extremely rare. Had Pulteney made this correction, and this only, he would have shown more ignorance than Sir Robert. The story is given in Coxe's 'Walpole,' i, 644.

Lord Rosebery comes before the public well qualified for the task that he has chosen, that of illustrating the early life of Chatham. He is himself, through the Stanhope branch, a member of the Pitt family. Like Pitt, he wears no party badge; he has filled the high office of Prime Minister; he is an orator of the first class, and has often proved a true political seer. In one respect, at least, he is unlike the hero of this sketch; he is a brilliant and distinguished writer. He has already given to the world three political biographies, those of Peel, of the younger Pitt, and of Lord Randolph Churchill, which have whetted the public appetite for this fuller political study.\*

No more opportune moment than the present could Lord Rosebery have chosen for the launching of this new biography. Two general elections have taken place within one year; and the air is full of great issues. Men talk of preferential tariffs, of imperial federation, of colonial representation, of a territorial army, of sea-power and a two-power standard for the navy, of Home Rule all round, of a referendum. These terms may be new; but the ideas underlying them were not unknown to Pitt and to Pitt's generation. Pitt stood for tariffs against the free trade principles of Burke and Walpole. He stood for the supremacy of the sea and a navy strong enough at all times to cope with the fleets of France and Spain. He regarded Parliament, in the House of Commons, at least, as inadequately representing the nation. 'The sea is our natural element,' he cried; 'our standing army is the fleet.' 'My lords, I hope to see the issue of this question fairly tried between the people and the Government.' After Pitt was dead, a paper was found in his handwriting detailing a scheme for the due representation of the American colonies. It was no wonder that King George III once termed him a 'trumpet of sedition,' and that King George II remarked with more urbanity: 'You have taught me to look elsewhere than the House of Commons for the sense of my subjects.'

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\* It is a comparatively small matter, but the admiring reader will miss in this book certain customary aids. It contains no list of chapters, no table of contents, no page-headings; and the title of the book is repeated, with useless monotony, at the head of every one of its five hundred pages. It is to be hoped that Mr Humphreys will improve on this in a second edition.

To most Englishmen the memories of the great Whig statesmen of the eighteenth century are little more than a tradition, or, to use Lord Rosebery's phrase, 'a stately and solemn procession of phantoms.' They will be so no longer. In Lord Rosebery's pages these come before us again, warm with the breath of life. Lord Rosebery has caught their characteristics and transferred their living lineaments to his pictured page. The prim and bustling Pelham is there, and Pulteney, our first leader of the Opposition, and sturdy, jealous Walpole, for twenty years Prime Minister, with his Voltairean smile. The urbane and polished Chesterfield is there, accomplished in all the arts of vanity and intrigue; and classic Carteret, our first Foreign Minister, dividing his learned leisure between his bottle and his Homer, talking Hanoverian German to King George and the most fluent French and Spanish to his ambassadors. There, too, are the ardent Fox, more greedy, if possible, of wealth than power; jobbing Newcastle, ever at the seat of custom; King George II and his worthless son; and, towering over all, the lonely, majestic Chatham.

The cameo-like sketches of the secondary characters in Lord Rosebery's drama, scattered over his earlier pages, are examples of good writing and biographical insight which we venture to prophesy will live. Let us take as a specimen an extract from his description of Carteret (pp. 180, 181).

'He abounded in a wit at once genial and penetrating. He was a puissant orator. His comprehensive grasp of European statecraft, his capacity for taking broad and high views, his soaring politics, his intrepid spirit and his high ambition, marked him out among the meaner men by whom he was surrounded. His contempt of money amounted to recklessness. His scorn of all pettiness made him disdain jobbery, and even the subtler arts of parliamentary manipulation. There was much that was sublime in him, and more that was impracticable. In a greater degree than any other minister of his time, if we except Chatham, with whom he had many qualities in common, does he seem to partake of the mystery of genius. Unfortunately, his energy came in gusts, he could scarcely bring himself to bend, and he was incapable of that self-contained patience, amounting to long-suffering, which is a necessary condition of the highest success in official life. . . .

He played his political chess with the big pieces alone, and neglected the pawns. He disregarded not merely the soldiers and most of the officers, but all the arts and equipment of the parliamentary army, heedless of the fact that parliamentary support is the vital necessity of a British minister.'

And this again of Carteret's sovereign (pp. 192-6).

'George II was better than his training would suggest. His first ambition indeed was to be a Lovelace, but his second was to be a soldier. As a soldier he had the unaffected courage of the princes of his race. George, red and angry, fighting on foot at the battle of Dettingen, is a figure that is memorable and congenial to his British subjects. . . . We must admit that he was born and bred a coxcomb, like his son. That he was a fond father no one will allege. His pleasures were coarse and dull. Even here one strange exception must be made. His letters to women, in the opinion of hostile critics, were tender and even exquisite. . . . We do not claim him as a great king, far from it. But we think him unjustly and hastily condemned. . . . The just critic must recognise in George II a constant substantial shrewdness, seasoned with humour. His sagacity made him realise his constitutional limitations; his penetration appraised with great justice the men by whom he was surrounded; he had to do much that he disliked and resented, but he did it when he saw that it was necessary, not gracefully, for he was never graceful, but without scandal.'

Lord Rosebery notes, with the adroitness of an accomplished man of affairs, the respective foibles of these men, their sordid scramble for place, their public jealousies, their private cabals, above all, their solemn affectation of the grand manner of the Court of Versailles.

'It was' (he says, p. 389) 'through this scene of confusion and intrigue that Pitt had to thread his way, not very scrupulously; for he had always lived in this society, had lost whatever thin illusions he had ever possessed, and followed the clues which his experience had taught him to prize. He played the game.'

This may be true. But we think Lord Rosebery is a little severe both upon Pitt and his great contemporaries. We are far from anxious to justify the methods and the manners of those bad old times, which in Lord Rosebery's pages appear in all their 'shameless and naked cynicism.' We note in that age two dangers kindred to our own.

There can be little doubt that the Whig oligarchs under the first two Georges carried to a dangerous length their theory of the supremacy of Parliament, so completely epitomised in their head, our first Prime Minister, Walpole. For twenty years his power was supreme. He 'managed' every election. He was above rivalry. He was, as Lord Rosebery justly says, 'the big firm crushing out competition.' Though a commoner, he was made a Knight of the Garter, and secured a patent for the legitimisation of his natural daughter. George I was little more than his chief adviser. George II, on a later day, justly complained: 'Now Ministers are King!'

There was a second danger with which we were threatened by the Whig parliament. The triumph of the Whigs was expressed largely in terms of money-value. The long peace policy of Walpole following on the Peace of Utrecht (1713) had increased our commerce to such an extent that we had become rivals, and more than rivals, of the old colonial empire of Spain; and Government had fallen under the influence of commercial ideas. Voltaire exactly expressed what everyone felt when he attributed to Walpole the celebrated phrase, 'Every man has his price.\*' Every place under Government had its price also. The 'rotten borough' of Sarum had not a single inhabitant living on its soil, yet it returned two members to Parliament. It had been bought by Governor Pitt, the sale of whose Indian diamond to the Regent Orleans at a net profit of 110,000*l.* had laid the foundations of the fortunes of the Pitt family. Fox was able on one famous occasion, with this golden wand, to control the returns of an entire election. Newcastle regularly distributed to a numerous and fashionable *clientèle* pensions, ribands, garters. The irregular profits accruing to the great posts of State were incredibly large. When Pitt was joint Vice-Treasurer of Ireland, and refused to take the 1000*l.* interest which had been recognised from time immemorial as part of

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\* What Walpole really said was (referring to the 'Patriots'), 'All those men have their price' (Coxe's 'Walpole,' i, 757), which is a very different matter. Mr Lucas, again misquoting, says somewhat absurdly (p. 241), 'The one thing about him [Walpole] which is always remembered is that he once said, "Every man has his price."'

the perquisites of office, his virtue was regarded askance, his purity was pronounced ostentatious.

This sordid standard of material advantage was revolting to the growing spirit and conscience of the nation. Our trade-routes were in need of expansion; and England longed to go to war with her commercial rivals. But Walpole held fast to peace at any price. Armies hesitated to engage the enemy, ships with troops on board refused to take risks, because there had grown up among our officials a notion that a ship run aground or a battle that might have been avoided meant the loss of so much bullion to the country. These are sad things to chronicle; but they are true. Yet they are not, as we think Lord Rosebery tends to represent them, the whole truth. There is another side to the picture.

Just as the proud oligarchs who ruled Venice in the day of her power were something more than merchant-princes, so the Ministers of the Georges were more than the gentlemen-adventurers and political opportunists Lord Rosebery paints them. It was not an age of great enthusiasms. But it was an age of a stern dutifulness and of a lofty patriotism that cared not to parade its virtues. Englishmen in the days of the Georges may have been indolent, corrupt, exacting in the time of peace; but we know what they were in the hour of danger. The men who met in high debate in the halls of Westminster, or who plucked fresh wreaths of glory from the battle-field and planted our standards in foreign climes, were far from being merely heartless cynics or cold-blooded men of the world. The age that produced a Chatham and a Carteret, a Mansfield and a Camden, a Clive and a Wolfe, a Johnson and a Wesley, has little reason to fear comparison with our own age, and comes down to us transfigured and sublime with almost an heroic radiance. Dr von Ruville, in his elaborate but often perverse biography of Pitt, has, with more tact than Lord Rosebery, balanced these two sides of the picture of that period.

'A profound lack of finer feeling,' he tells us (i, 36, 112), 'let alone of religious sense, a low and material theory of life, was . . . very general at that time among the ruling classes in England.' 'The state ought to have suffered a severe loss; but as a matter of fact this was not the case. The machinery of



government worked very well, and better than in many other states.' \*

Not least of the charms of Lord Rosebery's book is the graceful brilliance of his style, which throws off in careless abundance those many-coloured turns of thought and inimitable felicities of expression that so often meet and arrest us in the page of Hume. The book would have gained at once in lustre and in interest had it appeared earlier, for the Dropmore Manuscripts, which throw so much light on Pitt's antecedents, have been already utilised by Von Ruville in a biography which came out only some three years ago. Yet much of interest, and even of novelty, remains. The Camelford Manuscript, which Lord Rosebery describes as 'an intimate family document, entitled "Family Characters and Anecdotes,"' addressed by Lord Camelford, Pitt's nephew, to his son, is happily pressed into service. From this hostile source—the Pitt family were always in a state of internecine war—we learn that 'the surprising genius of Lord Chatham distinguished him as early as at Eaton School, where he and his friend Lord Lyttelton in different ways were looked up to as prodigies' (p. 29).

Dr von Ruville makes a conjecture that Pitt had in early youth been given to that excess of drinking against which he counsels his young nephew at Cambridge in the celebrated 'Letters to Lord Camelford'; and, from an incidental illustration, in one of the great orator's speeches, drawn from the junction of the Rhone and Saône, Dr von Ruville infers that Pitt had found time, between his residence at Oxford and his commission in Cobham's Horse (or 'The Blues,' as they were called), to make the grand tour through Europe. Both these conjectures are amply confirmed by the new letters Lord Rosebery prints for the first time (pp. 45, 61). They carry us back to the delightful memories of school-days and of first loves. Chief of all in interest is the long-continued correspondence with his beloved sister Ann. To her Pitt pours forth all his heart. Yet never once are we

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\* Dr von Ruville's work was noticed in this Review on a previous occasion (October 1908); we need only repeat that it is still a national discredit that the best life of our great hero is written by a foreigner.

allowed to penetrate his inner mind. Like Disraeli introducing Lord and Lady Beaconsfield into his dreams and his novels at the age of twenty-three, Pitt at the same age has become already Lord Chatham in embryo. In proof of this take the following advice he sends his sister about the year 1731 :

*'Le cour me paroît une mer peu aisée à naviger, mais qui ne manque pas d'ouvrir aux mariniers bien entendus le commerce le plus avantageux; j'entens l'art de connoître le monde et de s'en faire connoître agréablement. Un Esprit habile sans artifice et un cœur gai sans légèreté vous rendent ce volage plein d'agréments et de plaisirs, pendant que la vertu qui ne se dément jamais est l'Etoile fixe qui vous empêche de vous y égarer.'*

Then comes a sentiment that at once reminds us of Nelson in his youth and of Chatham in his glory; 'Ce sont les difficultés qui donnent au mérite tout son jour, et souvent elles en font naître' (p. 67).

The ambition that marked Pitt from the first appears even in his early loves. On his travels he meets a fascinating young woman at Besançon, who seems to possess all the necessary requirements, a noble mind in a handsome body. But at twenty-five this is not enough for Pitt. He frankly tells his sister the one drawback: 'Elle n'a point de titre ni de grand nom qui impose; et c'est là le diable' (p. 73). After this is it strange that this great young man never seriously fell in love till forty-six? And then was he not past the passion? None can tell; for no secret appears to have transpired from the Pitt family about the private life of the hero. Lord Rosebery has his own view of the matter.

'Marriage' (he says) 'marks a new ascent in Pitt's career; love seems to have transformed him; always powerful and eloquent, he became sublime. Into his former qualities there had passed an inspiration kindred to the divine passion which makes the poet' (p. 356).

We are inclined to doubt whether such remarkable results can be traced to the event. The lady can hardly have 'inspired' the foreign policy which had so long been in Pitt's mind. To judge from her letters, she was cold. Pitt did not become less frigid or unbending. His style of writing, always affected, became stilted and

rhetorical. His political triumphs, it is true, were *post hoc*, but were they *propter hoc*?

Lord Rosebery fixes Pitt's income from the legacy bequeathed by his grandfather as amounting to no more than 100*l.* (p. 26). Von Ruville, on the other hand, has almost demonstrated that it must have been at least 200*l.* (i. 80). Again, Lord Rosebery speaks of the grandfather as an 'interloper'—a term which, from contemporary sources, Von Ruville has decisively disputed. On two points we believe Lord Rosebery to be in error. He tries to trace an analogy, or at least a connexion, between the grandfather and the grandson, between the cold, hard, scheming, avaricious and miserly Thomas, and the ardent, disinherited William, whom he himself describes as 'notoriously indifferent to money.' If this analogy is strained, the following judgment is surely misleading.

'Thomas Pitt's blood came all aflame from the East and flowed like burning lava to his remotest descendants. . . . There was in it . . . some tropical, irritant quality, which under happy circumstances and control might produce genius' (p. 7).

It is far more probable that it was from the Governor's wife, an Innes of the family of Stuart and lineally descended from King James V of Scotland, that the 'burning lava' flowed, at least to the subject of our story. Lord Morley has remarked in his 'Life of Cromwell' that an intermixture of a Celtic strain is reckoned by many as necessary to give fire and speed to the phlegmatic English stock.

Again, Lord Rosebery traces the source of the haughty, wayward character of William to a 'lurking madness' in the family (pp. 18, 23-5, 126). We cannot entertain this suggestion. That heaven-born genius which smote the House of Bourbon, while it laid the foundations of our Empire in the East and in the West; that resistless eloquence which fulminated over England, scourging our senate into terrified compliance with its dictator's wishes while it 'shook corruption on her venal throne,' and blew the strains of civic liberty in accents of which it may be truly said, '*Igneus est ollis vigor et caelestis origo*'; that inspired audacity which, by a new and unheard-of combination of our land and sea forces, co-operating with our allies on the Continent, planned the

conquest of India and America, and shattered the coalitions formed against us at home—all this we cannot impute to madness in the blood. The eccentricity of Pitt can more easily be accounted for. 'Suppressed gout,' Sir Andrew Clark told Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice, 'disordered the whole nervous system and drove him into a state of mental depression varying with excitement and equivalent to insanity.' The passage has often been quoted from Lord Fitzmaurice's 'Life of Lord Shelburne.'

The newest part of Lord Rosebery's book is that which tells the story of Pitt's relations with his sister Ann. His letters show affection, it is true; they prove that in his heart, so closed to others, there was at least this one warm spot. But, beyond this, they will not enhance his reputation; Pitt was no letter-writer. His love-letters Lord Rosebery wisely declines to print. 'They are as wretched in their way,' he says (p. 355), 'as the letters of Burns to Clarinda, and shall not be quoted here.' The most remarkable part of the book is probably the character-sketches to which we have already referred. But the bulk of the work consists in the narrative of those ministerial intrigues which necessarily occupy so large a place in the political history of the reign, and indeed of the whole eighteenth century. Lord Rosebery narrates, with a vivacity and fullness of detail not to be found elsewhere, all the shifts and turns of the political game as played by the ruling families and factions in England under George II. It is a somewhat depressing tale, generally sordid, if sometimes entertaining; not even Lord Rosebery can infuse into it any grandeur, and not even Pitt emerges wholly unsmirched. It is an intensely personal drama as unfolded in these pages; we are struck by the want of background. The author seems to have no eye for any but the characters in the front of his stage. He pays no attention to the masses outside, to the nation at large, their hopes and fears, their interests and desires. And yet Chatham and his triumphs are unintelligible without a due consideration of these. It was Chatham's peculiarity among the men of his day that he had the people behind him, that he appealed to them, as no other did, not only by the magnetism of his personality, but by his standing for what in the bottom of their hearts they worshipped, for the ideals to which they dumbly aspired. If Walpole

was the first 'Prime Minister,' Chatham was the first popular parliamentary leader. Autocratic as he was, he foreshadowed the democracy. It is a defect in Lord Rosebery's otherwise admirable picture, that he does not display this remarkable feature in his hero's career.

We do not complain that we find in this book no reference to the growth of commercial interests, to the development of trade and industry, which gave force to the movement that pushed Pitt into the highest place. The author has deliberately restricted himself to personal and parliamentary affairs. And yet we cannot help feeling that the tale of these miserable squabbles and intrigues would have been illuminated and lifted into a higher plane, had he explained the great constitutional issues which, after all, were involved. The two ministerial crises in which Pitt was concerned—that which occurred after the fall of Walpole in 1742, and that which occurred after the death of Pelham in 1754—were not merely struggles for place between hungry and unscrupulous politicians. What is much more important is that they were conflicts between the Crown and the aristocracy for the right of appointing Ministers—that right which had been first called in question (in modern times) when Strafford was impeached, and was again brought forward when the Cabal gave way to Danby; that right which William III and Anne were practically compelled to concede to the parliamentary chiefs; which was wrangled over by the first two Hanoverian kings, was for a time victoriously reclaimed by George III, and was not finally abandoned by the Crown till the reign of William IV. This it is which lends a certain greatness, if not a glamour, to the ministerial conflicts, so frequent and so bitter, of the reign of George II. When Carteret was dismissed in 1744; when, having become Lord Granville, he vainly tried, at the King's behest, to form a Ministry in 1746; and still more clearly when, in 1756-7, Pitt forced his way into high office, it was not only that George II had to abandon his personal predilections, but that a right which for many centuries was unchallenged was passing from the Crown to the wielders of parliamentary or popular influence. Chatham's rise to power forms one of the most remarkable stages in this long evolution; for, whereas hitherto ambitious Ministers had merely brought parliamentary

influence to bear, Chatham's advance proved irresistible because he had the support of the nation. When he took the seals, he overcame not only the Crown in the person of George II, but the nobility in the person of Newcastle. It is unfortunate that Lord Rosebery, while telling so well what happened, tells us so little of what it all means.

The life of Pitt, as Lord Rosebery in his preface justly observes, can never be adequately written. Its larger lineaments are impressed upon the history of his country. To him it was given in fuller measure than to any other British statesman to change the course of political life and to direct it into fresh channels of progress and discovery. Pitt was a great warrior, a great statesman, a great orator. He was, above all, the founder of our Colonial Empire. The critical period in the growth of that vast organism fell within the time of Pitt's political activity. When he entered Parliament, the stipulations of Utrecht were regarded as the basis of international politics; nor was that basis changed, outside Europe, for another twenty years. In America we possessed, in addition to a fringe of scattered colonies along the Atlantic coast, only Newfoundland and Nova Scotia; and of the mainland territories the boundaries were ill defined. In the West Indies Jamaica was our only possession of first-rate consequence. Spain and France divided the bulk of the islands between them; and the French enjoyed almost a monopoly in the carrying of the sugar trade. In India our few mercantile settlements, Bombay, Calcutta, Madras, and Trichinopoly were recognised by no Act of Parliament, and were held only by the unconquerable tenacity of British traders, especially the merchants of the East India Company. Everywhere our enemies had taken advantage of the Treaty of Utrecht. France and Spain were regaining their influence in Europe. But it was in America and India that they were our rivals for colonial and commercial supremacy. Spain possessed, by right of the Utrecht treaty, a monopoly of the trade-routes to Latin-America, with a 'favoured-nation' clause for England, and the 'asiento' and the right to trade with a single ship thrown in.

Mercantile jealousy soon began. Smuggling became a recognised method of trade. Ere long Spain declared

her 'right of search'; and our merchants, crippled by her commercial exclusiveness, clamoured for the 'open door,' and finally drove the nation into war. Walpole's long peace had at length become destructive to the interests of England. Indeed, it had become of immense advantage to our rivals. While the genius of Dupleix was winning successes in India and menacing our factories, in America the French were engaged in constructing a chain of forts across that debateable country, the vast territory between the St Lawrence and the Gulf of Mexico, and occupying the 'hinterland' of our colonies, a process which, if permitted, would have stopped their westward expansion, and linked the French with the Spanish possessions. The war of Jenkin's Ear, followed by the war with France, brought out the strength of the Family Compact which alarmed Walpole in 1733. That war, coinciding with the European conflict known as the war of the Austrian Succession, left us no better off than before. Except for Frederick and Prussia it was a drawn battle. Louisburg, retroceded to France by the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle in exchange for Madras, rose as a menace to our colonies in the North. Fort Toronto threatened Fort Oswego. Several strongholds commanded the Ohio and the Mississippi. In India Dupleix, thwarted by Clive at Arcot, was recalled; but his place was taken by Lally and Bussy, successors who, had they pulled together, would have been little less dangerous. In Canada French interests were now championed by Montcalm, one of the noblest figures in an age of remarkable men. Meanwhile the forces of Great Britain were directed by the incapable hands of Newcastle and his ring of satellites; the King could not see beyond his beloved Hanover; and, when the truce was broken by the renewal of the frontier-conflict in the West, matters went rapidly from bad to worse. It was only when Pitt took the helm that, in four short years, we were able to regain all we were losing, and to conquer Canada and India, with the colonial and commercial supremacy of the world.

To return for a moment to domestic affairs. When in 1742 Walpole resigned, the Opposition came in, headed nominally by Wilmington, really by Carteret; and Pitt, who had been chiefly instrumental in getting rid of



Walpole, now turned round to attack his former chief. At first sight the *volte-face* seems startling, for Carteret reversed the policy of Walpole. Walpole hugged peace; Carteret rushed into war. Walpole bought off the enemy; Carteret subsidised our allies. Under Walpole we were ready to sacrifice all the glories of Blenheim and Oudenarde to a dishonourable truce. Under Carteret we precipitated the battle of Dettingen, by which George II recovered his military reputation and France lost an ally in Charles of Wittelsbach. Carteret had proved the most successful Foreign Minister of the day. He engaged to subsidise Maria Theresa, induced her to come to an agreement with Frederick of Prussia, and enlisted Austria on our side in a combined land and sea effort against France and Spain. Yet Pitt was as eager to disparage King George's military success at Dettingen as he was forward to impeach Carteret's policy of continental alliances with Austria and Hungary.

In all this, Pitt was clearly right, as the event showed. The difference between Pitt and Carteret is the measure of the difference between the statesman and the politician. It is the eternal difference between genius and talent. Carlyle has defined genius as 'intellectual insight.' Pitt saw what Carteret could not see, that Louis XV was not Louis XIV, that to the old French policy of aggression by land had succeeded the new colonial policy of supremacy at sea. In short, while Carteret's vision was confined to the Old World, Pitt's was centred on the New. This is the clue that runs like a golden thread through the tangled obscurities of Pitt's foreign policy before he rose to power. Pelham followed Carteret; Newcastle followed Pelham. Meanwhile, Pitt, unsupported and alone, continued to defend or attack Ministers and measures according as they threatened to help or retard the policy he had at heart. When Walpole signed a convention with Spain, Pitt had described the treaty as 'a stipulation for the national ignominy.' When Pelham later signed a similar convention with Spain, Pitt defended it as 'absolutely necessary to our very being.' When his four predecessors at the head of government made common cause with Hanover, 'he thundered at subsidies.' When he himself arrived at supreme control, he 'lavished subsidies with unexampled profusion.'

These things seem more inconsistent than in truth they are. When the reproach was cast in his teeth, he did not deny the apparent inconsistency. Ten years ago he was younger, he said; he was now growing older: 'Tempora mutantur, nos et mutamur in illis.' The perspective was changing, and Pitt was changing too. The horizon was widening, and Pitt enlarged his mental vision with it. Spain blustered bigger in the Old World under Walpole than it could afford to do in the New World during Pelham's ministry. Hanover was less useful to us in Carteret's time than it afterward became as the price of keeping the uncertain Frederick of Prussia friendly or neutral. Hanover, Pitt insisted, could take care of itself; and if we lost it we could recover it afterwards by our victories elsewhere. But Hanover could be used also as a pawn on the political chess-board at home, to check the advances of the King in the direction of France or Prussia, while we were running the game elsewhere, on the military chess-board across the seas. The inconsistencies of Pitt may seem hard to defend; but they have their justification.

In Frederick of Prussia the storm that was gradually gathering to burst over Europe had produced the strangest of portents. The electorate of Brandenburg had blossomed at the beginning of the century into the kingdom of Prussia. Frederick I and his son Frederick William were dead. The second Frederick was on the throne. His interests were with England in so far as they were Protestant. They were against England in so far as her hostility to France drove her into alliance with his arch-enemy Austria. When Kaunitz contrived to seduce France from her secular enmity against the Empire, and to knit that fateful league which led up to the Revolution, the same old rivalry between France and England made England and Prussia natural allies. This was the central fact which was grasped by Pitt, and—in England at least—by Pitt alone. This was the lever by which he would overthrow the twin colossi, France and Spain, in the New World. 'America,' he exclaimed, 'must be conquered in Germany.' The outbreak of the Seven Years' War gave him the opportunity he required.

So far was George II from grasping the key to the situation that he continued, so late as 1755, the futile

policy of subsidy treaties with the lesser German states against the Power which was to be Pitt's great ally. Newcastle was as much in the dark as the King. The vast majority of the Lower House were, from one cause or another, under the sway of Newcastle; yet so powerful was the opposition of Pitt, so vigorous the eloquence of his attack upon the subsidies, that Newcastle had to take Fox into the Government to save it from defeat. To punish Pitt, he was dismissed from the subordinate office which he had held for several years. The leash thus slipped, he became more formidable than ever. On Newcastle, too weak to risk disfavour at Court by demanding office for one who persistently opposed the King, and on Fox, who had deserted him for place under a man he scorned, Pitt poured out the vials of his wrath. It was in one of his speeches against this coalition that the famous simile of the Rhone and the Saône—a simile which in these days appears more rhetorical than effective—was employed. The political situation has striking analogies with that of nearly thirty years later, when the son of Pitt faced the son of Fox, entangled in an even less creditable alliance. Disasters abroad doubled the force of Pitt's onslaught. Braddock and almost all his men perished in a misguided attempt on Fort Duquesne. Next year Boscawen failed to stop the French reinforcements for Canada. Hawke, distracted by contradictory orders, roamed aimlessly about the Channel. Minorca, left by Byng to its fate, fell to a well-concerted attack by the soldiers and sailors of France. In America, Montcalm surprised Oswego, and cut the connexion with the Great Lakes. In India, the bitterness of losing Calcutta was heightened by the horrors of the Black Hole.

Every wind seemed to blow disaster. All faces were black with despair. Pitt had long foreseen a time of disaster. Fifteen years earlier he had drawn a gloomy picture of the fortunes of this country in a letter to Lord Chesterfield:

'Whether day is ever to break forth again or destruction and darkness is to cover all, "*Impiaque aeternam meruerunt saecula noctem*," must soon be determined. France by her influence and her arms means to undo England and all Europe.'

Since then the darkness had deepened, the gloom had

grown more intense. It is strange to peruse the pessimistic notices that appeared in the interval. Bolingbroke could see nothing around him but 'ruin and despair.' Alderman Heathcote complained of the universal 'indifference.' Browne in his 'Estimate of the Manners . . . of the Times' wrote: 'Love of our country is no longer felt . . . Public spirit exists not . . . A vain, luxurious, selfish effeminacy . . . is rapidly corroding all the elements of the national strength.' Lord Stair could only see 'destruction' coming on this nation with rapid strides. 'We are no longer a nation,' exclaimed Chesterfield in 1757, 'I never yet saw so dreadful a prospect . . . Whoever is in and whoever is out, I am sure we are undone both at home and abroad.'

Meanwhile, in Europe, the great League against Prussia had gathered its forces together. Spain, Russia, Sweden, Saxony, joined France and Austria for the recovery of Silesia and the partition of the upstart monarchy. Face to face with such a confederation, the cause of Frederick seemed hopeless. But Frederick himself never lost heart. He had, it is true, proclaimed the gospel of plunder sixteen years before, in circumstances which made his conduct peculiarly heinous. He could not now complain if his doctrines were turned against himself. He had made war upon a woman, hardly settled on her throne. The three most powerful women in Europe, Maria Theresa, the Tsarina Elizabeth, and Madame de Pompadour, were now banded together to avenge his injuries and insults. Frederick was not only the founder of Prussia; he was also the originator of Prussian *Realpolitik*. He was the political forerunner of Bismarck, the inventor of Bismarck's methods. But in this crisis of his fate, no one can refuse admiration to his courage, his insight, his swiftness, his tenacity. Seeing the storm approaching, he forestalled the action of his enemies; and, as in 1740 he had, without warning, pounced upon Silesia, so in 1756 he suddenly invaded Saxony. Thus the Seven Years' War began.

But Frederick's first efforts were not crowned with success. He occupied Dresden and drove the Saxon army to capitulate, finding evidence sufficient to justify his conduct. The league, taken by surprise, was unprepared, and suffered accordingly. Early in the following year

the ponderous machine set itself in motion ; and fortune began to turn. The British troops in Germany protecting Frederick's left flank, were beaten by the French ; and the Duke of Cumberland was forced to sign the disgraceful Convention of Klosterseven. Frederick himself suffered a disastrous defeat at Kolin ; and though he subsequently hurled back the French at Rossbach and the Austrians at Leuthen, he could only just hold his own. Nor were the fortunes of Frederick's one ally more hopeful. The British attacks upon Rochefort and Louisburg failed. Our fleets and armies seemed paralysed. Late in 1756, Newcastle, disheartened by disaster, and feeling himself incapable of reviving the fortunes of his country, resigned. Fox was sent for, but no Ministry could now be formed without Pitt ; and Pitt was as determined not to serve under Fox as he was not to serve under Newcastle. In December the King's opposition was at last broken down, and Pitt, with the Duke of Devonshire as his nominal head, took the lead. His first Ministry was short-lived ; but he struck at once the keynote of his policy. He threw himself whole-heartedly into the alliance with Frederick, and lavished men and money on his behalf. To Frederick, attacked on all sides, the strategic importance of Hanover was obviously immense. To Pitt, who had so often and so ruthlessly repudiated his own King's Hanoverian policy, the safety of Hanover now became a matter of paramount consideration. There is no inconsistency here. Methods differ ; the end is the same. Into all departments of the Administration, especially the army and navy, Pitt at once infused his fiery spirit. But before it had time to work, the intriguing selfishness of Newcastle, the jealousy of Fox, dashed the cup of success from his lips. With his work only just begun, he was forced to resign the seals. The King applied again to Newcastle and his 'footmen.' But Pitt's brief spell of power had sufficed to prove him more than ever indispensable. In June 1757 he returned, with Newcastle as his nominal head ; and the glorious four years' Ministry began.

It is the darkest hour that heralds the dawn ; and, as Lord Nelson used to say, when things are at their worst they begin to be at their best. The moment had come. The man had arrived who was to change despair into

hope and convert defeat and disaster into victory, who was to humble the House of Bourbon in every quarter of the globe, who was, in the words of the inscription at the Guildhall, to 'make commerce flourish by war,' and 'during whose administration,' in the more stately language of his monument in Westminster, 'Divine Providence' was to 'exalt Great Britain to an height of prosperity and glory unknown to any former age.'

The towering personality of Frederick responded to the solitary soul of Pitt. The isolation of Prussia on the Continent was balanced by the isolation of England. Different but converging interests made them close allies. The rise of Prussia to the first rank among European States, and the rise of Great Britain to the first place among colonial and commercial powers, proceeded hand in hand. And the two great men recognised each other as kindred spirits. 'The King of Prussia,' cried Pitt, 'sees all, knows all, does everything, is everything.' 'England,' exclaimed Frederick, 'has been long in labour, and has been in much pain to produce Mr Pitt, but she has at last brought forth a man.'

It was for this hour Pitt had waited during some twenty years of opposition to the united powers of state, hoping that the King might die or some other such 'favourable conjuncture' arise. He had grown up as a boy at school, as a young man at college, as a cornet in the 'Blues,' with the sense of his destiny upon him, and dared to bear himself proudly from the first, determined

*αἰὲν ἀριστεύειν καὶ ἐπείροχος ἕμμεναι ἄλλον.*

He had turned over the histories of Rome, but only in the hope of emulating the Roman virtues. He had read Demosthenes with the dim consciousness that he would one day rival the Greek orator himself. He had perused Locke and Burnet and every book on the military art, to fit himself for the high calling of saving his country. Thus he had grown up, in the solitude of his own fancy, another Pericles, the statesman-orator and saviour of Athens, another Ximenes, the proud soldier-statesman of Spain. He had nourished his ambition on Plutarch's Heroes and Spenser's 'Faëry Queen,' and had dreamt, like Joseph in the land of Canaan, until at length his dreams came true. 'My Lord,' he exclaimed with charac-

teristic impetuosity to the Duke of Devonshire at the foot of the stairs in the House of Lords, 'I am sure I can save this country, and nobody else can!'

Lord Rosebery somewhat tantalisingly deserts us at the point when, in December 1756, Pitt first obtained power. Here, therefore, we must bring our brief review to an end. We trust that the distinguished author will some day give us an opportunity of returning to the subject by completing the record of Pitt's services to his country. Lord Rosebery has dealt fairly with his hero. He has 'nothing extenuated, nor aught set down in malice.' Pitt has no reason to fear such treatment.

'All careers' (says Lord Rosebery, p. 511) 'have their blots. The best and happiest are those in which the blemishes are obscured by high achievement. That was supremely the case with Pitt. His upward ascent was much like other ascents, neither better nor worse. But when he reached the summit, and acted in full light and freedom, his triumph was so complete that none deem it worth while to scan his previous record. . . . Whatever his failings may have been, his countrymen have refused, and rightly refused, to take heed of them. They have refused to see anything but the supreme orator, the triumphant Minister of 1757-61, the champion of liberty in later years at home and in the West. With Pitt, as with Nelson, his country will not count flaws. What do they matter? How are they visible in the sunlight of achievement? A country must cherish and guard its heroes.

'We have climbed with him in his path to power. We have seen him petulant, factious, hungry, bitter. And yet all the time we have felt that there was always something in him different in quality from his fellow-politicians when they aired the same qualities, that there was an imprisoned spirit within him struggling for freedom and scope. At last it bursts its trammels; he tosses patronage and intrigue to the old political Shylocks, and inspires the policy of the world. Vanity of vanities! Twenty years after his epoch of glory, three years after his death, Britain has reached the lowest point in her history. But still she is the richer for his life. He bequeaths a tradition, he bequeaths a son; and when men think of duty and achievement they look to one or the other. It will be an ill day for the country when either is forgotten.'

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# Art. 13.—THE GENERAL ELECTION, AND WHAT NEXT?

1. *Report from the Select Committee of the House of Lords.* London: Wyman, 1908.
2. *The Parliament Bill*, 1910. Ordered by the House of Lords to be printed, November 16. London: Wyman.
3. *Debates in the House of Lords*, November 1910.
4. *Second Chambers.* By J. A. R. Marriott. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1910.
5. *English Political Institutions.* By J. A. R. Marriott. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1910.
6. *Senates and Upper Chambers.* By H. W. V. Temperley. London: Chapman and Hall, 1910.

It would be idle to pretend that the result of the General Election is other than disappointing. It is true, indeed, that not many Unionists expected anything better, and that many at the beginning dreaded something much worse; and it is probably no less true that Ministers, when they advised this premature dissolution, counted on such a gain of seats as would have paralysed their opponents and given the Radical party a decisive majority. The high hopes of the one side and the apprehensions of the other were based alike on the reports of wire-pullers; and these, perhaps, showed too vivid an appreciation of the advantage which the Radicals, by a somewhat unscrupulous use of that power of controlling events that pertains to a Government, had contrived to win in the game of party manoeuvre. Those, however, to whom politics are something more than a game, who based their calculations on a certain measure of faith in the political instinct of the electorate, who credited the democracy with some of that power of vision which discerns the real issue beneath all pretences, had hoped for better things; and to them the result is not only a serious disappointment in the present, but is fraught with no little discouragement for the future.

But, though the ship of State may be floundering, it is still afloat; and, if it is to be steered into harbour, it behoves us to ascertain its present position and determine the winds and currents with which it is contending. Before we can understand the present situation we must understand its genesis. When, five years ago, the Liberal

party returned to power with an overwhelming majority, it had not forgotten its grievances against the House of Lords or the policy of revenge bequeathed by Mr Gladstone in his last speech in the House of Commons in 1894. In the meantime, unluckily, in spite of many warnings—among others from Lord Salisbury—the Lords had not profited by the opportunity of their friends being in office for the space of ten years to put their house in order or to bring it into conformity with modern sentiment and requirements. Nevertheless, the designs of the Liberals in the beginning did not prosper. The principal measure of their first session—the Education Bill—was so amended by the Lords that the Ministry elected to abandon it altogether; and, though the Bill was far from popular with a great many Liberals, and the Ministry has virtually ratified in subsequent proposals the principles on which the Upper House insisted, its intervention was keenly resented.

The irritation thereby engendered found expression in the following year in the Campbell-Bannerman resolution. That resolution declared it to be necessary that the powers of the House of Lords should be so restricted by law as to secure that within the limits of a single Parliament the final decision of the Commons should prevail; but it was a mere *brutum fulmen*, intended to relieve the feelings of the great Liberal majority, and few took it seriously, least of all the House of Lords. In the session after it was passed the principal measure was the Licensing Bill. The Lords, who had been content with amending the Education Bill, now took the bolder course of rejection on the second reading; but the Government tamely submitted without any attempt to adopt punitive measures, and without giving the country the chance of condemning the action of the Second Chamber. As a matter of fact, in bye-election after bye-election, the Government candidates were defeated; and, when the year 1909 began, the Liberal party appeared to be drifting to inevitable overthrow. The momentum of the great majority seemed to be exhausted; the Ministry was notoriously torn by fierce internal dissensions, and was in imminent danger of breaking up; and, even if that catastrophe were avoided, it seemed highly probable that, when dissolution came in the

ordinary course of events, the Unionists would again be swept into power by a tidal wave as mighty as that which had overwhelmed them in 1906.

Into this situation the Chancellor of the Exchequer flung his now famous Budget. We are not here concerned with its merits or demerits as a measure of finance, nor for our present purpose need we pay much heed to the distinction, on which some Liberals anxiously insist, between its actual provisions and the methods of advocacy which its author adopted. Crude, formless and impracticable in its original presentment, cynical in its disregard for considerations of equity, the Budget was politically nothing short of an inspiration. It was an appeal to the cupidity of the multitude by a direct attack on wealth, an attack on wealth especially in the form in which it is most unpopular and at the same time most vulnerable—the ownership of land; and it marks the beginning of a new political epoch.

The effect of the Budget was magical; it rallied the Liberal party, and gave it fresh energy and momentum. The end is not yet, and it is too soon to appraise the final consequences either for the party or the nation; but, little as we may admire the methods and principles of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and dubious as we may feel as to the final outcome of his statesmanship, he must be credited with an achievement that has few parallels in our recent political history. There is hardly a previous instance of a leader restoring to vigour a party which has fallen sick in its third or fourth year of power, and guiding it to another successful election. Mr Chamberlain made a bold attempt to do something similar in 1903, and failed; but, where Mr Chamberlain failed, Mr Lloyd George succeeded. It is only fair to remember that, whereas the stars in their courses fought against Mr Chamberlain, fortune has been very kind to Mr Lloyd George. The tactics of his opponents were bad from the beginning. The opposition to the Budget was allowed to assume the character of a crusade in favour of the very rich. Its proposals were confronted with a blank negation; and there was no attempt to disengage what may have been legitimate in the sentiment of the great towns against the ground-landlords, or to formulate a policy on Conservative lines to give it satisfaction. And at the

end came the crowning blunder of all, the intervention of the House of Lords.

The old controversy between the two Houses as to the exclusive privileges of the Commons in matters of finance had slumbered for half a century. Down to 1860 the Lords had frequently exercised their right of rejecting a Money Bill; but since 1861 all the financial measures of the year had been included in an 'omnibus' Bill,\* which the Lords had invariably passed. Thus their right of rejection seemed to have fallen into desuetude. The Commons, indeed, in their turn, had on the whole obeyed the rule which was essential to the smooth working of the system thus developed, namely, that the Finance Bill should be strictly limited to the provisions dictated by the financial requirements of the year; and of this rule the Budget of 1909 was a flagrant violation. A trap, in fact, was laid in the path of the Lords, and they walked deliberately into it. In an evil hour, and before even the House of Commons had given any consideration to the Budget, a Unionist newspaper put forward a proposal for its rejection by the Upper House. The suggestion was eagerly taken up by a section of the party in the supposed interest of Tariff Reform; and it is perhaps worth noting, as a case of nemesis in politics, that one of the ultimate results has been to deprive Tariff Reform of all apparent chance of victory in the immediate future.

While the advocates of rejection were vocal and active, the responsible leaders remained silent and inert. With many of the qualities of a great political commander, Mr Balfour has not the supreme gift of knowing how to control events; he prefers to wait on them, and is therefore more successful as a tactician than a strategist. In this case, a violent state of opinion was allowed to come into existence, which deprived the leaders of their control, and placed the House of Lords most unfairly in a position from which there was no exit without serious loss or danger. If there had been no agitation, or if the agitation had been stifled in its early stages, as it ought to have been, the Lords could

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\* This practice has been departed from in the current financial year. A Bill which the Speaker called "a Finance Bill of a sort" was passed before the dissolution, the remainder of the Budget having to await consideration in the new Parliament.

have passed the Budget as a matter of course. The situation had been so mismanaged that it was difficult for them to pass it without loss of prestige and without a certain risk of demoralising their friends; though even at the eleventh hour it would have been wiser to face these consequences than to plunge into the unknown.

The rejection of the Budget converted a merely tactical error into a signal strategic blunder. If the Lords had allowed it to pass, whatever popularity or semblance of cohesion it had brought to their enemies would speedily have been lost; and its crudities could have been corrected and its inequitable burdens lightened when the Unionists returned to power. Indeed, if the reaction which was bound to come had proved sufficiently strong, the whole policy could have been reversed; but, as it is, this reaction has been denied scope for its development, and the principles of the Budget must now be regarded as fairly well established. All this, it may be said, is wisdom after the event; but wisdom after the event is a legitimate instrument of criticism, and we can recall with satisfaction that even before the event we warned the House of Lords of the dangers in its path, and urged it to be content with the Fabian policy in which alone safety lay.\*

The rejection of the Budget completed the work which the Budget itself had begun, and finally reunited the Liberal Government and party. It gave them a real cry, and enabled them to pose as the defenders of the Constitution. And it put the Lords in the wrong in the eyes of the country. Hitherto their position had in logic been unassailable, and they had not been unpopular. Their rejection of the Home Rule Bill of 1893 had been ratified by the nation; and interest in the Education and Licensing Bills was so purely sectional, that the annoyance caused by their failure was strictly circumscribed. But the Budget was a subject which interested all; and, in this grave matter of universal concern, the Lords had violated, in a manner somewhat shocking to the innate conservatism of the country, one of the best established of constitutional conventions. They staked all their gains on the election of January 1910, and lost

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\* See 'Quarterly Review' for July 1909, Art. 13.

them all in a single throw. It is true that the result was very far from amounting to a strong condemnation of the action they had taken. It was only after long delay and a devious process of accommodation between the Government and the Irish that the Budget could be passed in the new House of Commons; and the gain of a hundred seats, which the Unionists effected under every disadvantage, may help us to imagine what might have happened if the election had come later, and the Liberals had not been aided by the cry with which the Opposition had gratuitously provided them.\* But, if the election of January was not a crushing defeat for Unionism, still less was it a victory. It was certainly very far from being a justification of the policy of the House of Lords. They lost on the Budget against which they had risked so much, and they lost on other things vastly more important. In the new House of Commons there was a majority of 120, eager for their destruction; and the result was the Parliament Bill.

As this Bill embodies the policy on which the Government went to the country in the December elections, it calls for some examination. To begin with the preamble, we find in it a curious departure from all previous usage, which is premonitory, as it were, of the character of the whole Bill. Preambles invariably deal with the subject-matter of what follows, and do not go beyond it; and in its first brief clause this remarkable preamble conforms to the usual practice:

‘Whereas it is expedient that provision should be made for regulating the relations between the two Houses of Parliament.’

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\* The smallness of the majority of votes which actually decided the issue in Great Britain is remarkable. The total poll in England, Scotland, and Wales was less in December than in January by about 25 per cent. There were in the recent elections 54 uncontested Unionist seats and 14 Liberal. Applying the diminution of 25 per cent. to the majorities shown at the last contests in these uncontested seats, we reduce the total of Unionist majorities (uncontested) from 166,015 to 124,511; and that of Liberal majorities (uncontested) from 69,335 to 52,001. The total of Unionist majorities in contested elections was 2,358,430; that of Liberal majorities (contested) was 2,623,133. Adding together the totals of majorities in contested and uncontested elections, we get the following results: Liberal 2,675,134, Unionists 2,482,941; Liberal majority 184,693. And with this small balance, outside Ireland, the Constitution is to be overturned.



Then, however, the immediate occasion is forgotten; and, under the shelter of a 'whereas,' we are given something in the nature of a political manifesto:

'[And whereas] It is intended to substitute for the House of Lords as it at present exists a Second Chamber constituted on a popular instead of hereditary basis, but such substitution cannot be immediately brought into operation.'

We are not told by whom this interesting intention is harboured, nor how or when it is to be carried into effect; but the third clause suggests that, when, if ever, this is done, the provisions of the Parliament Bill will then cease to be applicable.

'[And whereas] Provision will require hereafter to be made by Parliament in a measure effecting such substitution for limiting and defining the powers of the new Second Chamber, but it is expedient to make such provision as in this Act appears for restricting the existing powers of the House of Lords.'

This clumsy sentence might easily be made the text for lengthy comment, and has already given rise to some ingenious speculation. But it would show a lack of humour to treat it too seriously, or to attempt to find a meaning in language only intended to cover embarrassment and evidently much tortured in the effort to make it the vehicle of two conflicting opinions. A paraphrase perhaps will best render the significance of the preamble as a whole:—'Whereas Sir Edward Grey and other members of the Cabinet regard a Single Chamber policy as "death and damnation," and whereas, it is desirable to placate them but highly inconvenient to act on their opinion, be it therefore recorded that they hold that opinion, though they have assented to the destruction of the existing Second Chamber.' That, we can be certain, is not very wide of what the preamble really means.

Having thus dismissed the policy of reconstruction, the Bill proceeds in its first operative section to deprive the Lords formally of the right of interference with Money Bills, either by way of rejection or amendment. As the Lords themselves have now declared their willingness to abandon that right on certain conditions, we need only pause to note that in the scheme of the Government the



duty of deciding what is a Money Bill is imposed on the Speaker. There is something of the *Vae victis* spirit of arrogant unfairness in thus making an officer of the House of Commons the final and only arbiter in matters of the first importance to the House of Lords; but the scheme is bound to recoil upon the House of Commons itself. The result must be to degrade the Speakership into a party office, without giving to its holder the dignity which he possesses under the American system, of being a party leader. It will be of so much importance to the 'party of progress' to have an ally in the Speaker who will give a wide interpretation to the definition of a Money Bill, that they are certain to insist at the beginning of a Parliament in which they have a majority on placing in the chair a party nominee who will obediently register the decrees of the caucus.

This spirit of party and party supremacy breathes through the Parliament Bill from the first word to the last. When we come to the main provision, it is still more manifest. The second clause enacts that, if in three successive sessions, whether of the same Parliament or not, any Bill other than a Money Bill shall have been passed by the House of Commons and sent to the House of Lords, then, provided only that two years shall have elapsed between its first introduction into the House of Commons and its final passage by that House, it shall, even if rejected on all three occasions by the House of Lords, be presented to the Sovereign, and on receiving the Royal assent become an Act of Parliament.\* It is no mere rhetoric to describe this arrangement as nothing more nor less than Single Chamber government. It means the complete subjection of the House of Lords; and subjection makes its total abolition an easy matter, if ever the Liberal caucus should think it desirable so to decree. It means a House of Commons practically uncontrolled. Some Liberals, it is true, anxiously plead that the power of amendment and the power of delay left to the House of Lords would be of great practical value; but how long would an autocratic and self-willed

\* There is also a provision limiting the duration of Parliament to five years; but this need not detain us, for the effect of the Bill as a whole would be to place the duration of Parliament, as indeed everything else, at the mercy of the House of Commons.

House of Commons tolerate the exercise of any powers whatever by a rival institution entirely at its mercy?

We need not believe, indeed, that the worst consequences of the Bill would disclose themselves at once; but, where power exists, it is certain sooner or later to find occasion for its exercise, and we can divine some of the consequences that would follow immediately if this Bill became law. We should see, for instance, a measure for the abolition of plural voting forced through without regard to the over-representation of Ireland or any other anomaly helpful to the Liberals. We should see the Church, the land, the liquor trade, and every other interest or institution which has incurred their hostility, made the subject of penal and vindictive legislation. And we should see before long a violent reaction, when the nation once realised that it had handed itself over to that most unscrupulous and tyrannical of oligarchies, the party caucus.

The word 'revolutionary' is greatly overworked, but, if ever it is applicable, it applies to this Bill, which is nothing less than a revolutionary attempt to upset the balance of the Constitution in the interest of party. Nothing indeed can be more astonishing than the spirit of light-heartedness in which men reputed to be serious and moderate in their views—the Prime Minister himself, Lord Morley and Lord Crewe, Mr Haldane and Sir Edward Grey—are playing with revolution. Pulling the Constitution to pieces is a very grave experiment; but none of these statesmen shows any consciousness of its gravity. With such strange blindness party spirit may afflict us. Worship of party is the political religion of the hour; and its most conspicuous votaries are on the Liberal side. By an unlucky evolution our historic Second Chamber has come to be regarded as an appanage of the Tories, and must therefore be reduced to impotence, whatever the results. The perils of Single Chamber Government are as nothing by comparison with the necessity that the will of the Liberal party should prevail.

The Parliament Bill had been produced, and the inevitable crisis seemed near at hand, when the whole situation was suddenly changed by the death of King Edward. It was understood at once that there must be a truce in the constitutional struggle; and the country

showed by unmistakable signs its desire that a peaceful settlement should be somehow arrived at. In response to this desire, communications were opened between the Prime Minister and Mr Balfour; and it was presently announced that eight leading representatives of the Government and the Opposition were to meet in secret conference, in order to find if possible the basis of an agreement. Wearied with party contention and party recrimination, the country obviously welcomed the new method of procedure; and the Conciliation Conference, as it came to be called, was popular from the first. It held more than twenty sessions in the course of the summer and autumn; and, as month followed month without its breaking up, hopes of its success began to run high. They were doomed to disappointment. Parliament, which had adjourned in August, was to meet again in the middle of November; and a few days before this date, the political world was startled by an official announcement that the Conference had come to an end without arriving at an agreement. No statement was issued as to the nature of its deliberations; and the secret on the whole has been well and wisely kept.

The break-up of the Conference was of course a signal for the resumption of hostilities for which the more eager partisans on either side had been impatiently waiting; and, after the long period of political stagnation, events began to move with a swiftness that was astonishing. A bye-election in Walthamstow caused by the promotion of Mr Simon to the office of Solicitor-General had just given an increased majority to the Liberal candidate, and created a feeling of elation among the supporters of the Government; and for a moment it seemed probable that Parliament on its meeting would fall under a sentence of immediate dissolution. The Prime Minister hastened to Sandringham; and, while the Chancellor of the Exchequer gave the signal for battle in a telegraphic message of characteristic recklessness, Mr Winston Churchill rushed into the fray with a flaming manifesto to his constituents. Mr Balfour afterwards twitted him with having fired off his rifle before the enemy were within range; but there can be little doubt that Mr Churchill had excellent justification for his misjudging of the distance, and that the original plan had been an

immediate dissolution on the meeting of Parliament, so that the Lords might be deprived of the opportunity of speaking in their own defence, and a verdict be procured against them without even the semblance of a trial. For reasons which it is easier to conjecture than discuss, this plan broke down; and, after a few exciting days of hesitation and uncertainty, it was finally announced that Parliament would be dissolved at the end of a fortnight from the day of its reassembly.

No serious attempt has yet been made to justify this dissolution, which is in flagrant violation of all constitutional usage. The Government had a majority of 120 in a House of Commons which they had brought into existence only ten months before. They had suffered no defeat in the House of Commons; and, since the last general election, none of their measures had been rejected by the House of Lords. The Conference, it is true, had failed; but that failure left undiminished their power of proceeding with the Parliament Bill in reliance on their ample majority. This Bill had never been discussed in either House of Parliament; there was no deadlock; and the Government had no right to assume that a deadlock was inevitable. Sir Edward Grey seems to have been troubled by the problem, for he explained in his election address that 'an appeal to the country was necessary *to give them authority* to reform the House of Lords and reduce its powers'; but Mr Asquith on the same day asked the electors 'to repeat with still greater emphasis *the approval which* only eleven months ago *they had given* to the proposals of his Majesty's Government.' These two utterances are not quite consistent; and it is in the words of the Prime Minister that the real motive of the dissolution must be sought. It was not authority that was needed, but 'greater emphasis' and an increased majority. The dissolution was a bold bid for freedom from the domination of the Irish; and, to increase the chances of success, it was hurried on with a cynical disregard of the rules of fair play, in the hope of snatching an advantage from the bewilderment of the country.

Happily, in their design of muzzling the House of Lords, the Government had not all the success they

desired. During the brief fortnight's respite which was ungraciously accorded to them, the Lords accomplished much. In the preceding March, under the guidance of Lord Rosebery, they had passed, unanimously or by a majority of ten to one, resolutions embodying a declaration that, in the interests of a strong and efficient Second Chamber, reform and reconstitution of the House of Lords were desirable, and laying down the principle that the possession of a peerage should no longer of itself give the right to sit and vote. They now, without a division, passed a further resolution developing this principle, and providing that in future the House should consist of Lords of Parliament of three different classes; (a) chosen by the whole body of hereditary peers from among themselves and by nomination of the Crown; (b) sitting by virtue of offices and of qualifications held by them; (c) chosen from outside. These resolutions, of course, profess to give nothing more than the outline of a scheme; and a great deal will depend on the subsequent filling in. Much is still ambiguous; and, as regards the third class especially, that 'chosen from outside,' the nature and method of the choice remain undefined.\* But in spite of imperfections and ambiguities, the scheme, if developed, would give us a Second Chamber free from the more obvious anomalies of the existing House of Lords, more widely representative in the truest sense of the word, less completely dominated by the interest of a single class, more even in its political balance, and no longer inaccessible to those breezes of political sentiment which blow through the country; and all this without sacrifice of that continuity of tradition which is of the essence of our constitution. As an effort of reform, it may well be contrasted with the policy of the Government, which gives us nothing more than the vague promise of a preamble.

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\* In the course of the debate and subsequent discussion, indications were given that the new House would consist of about 400 members, and that of these half would be chosen from the existing hereditary peerage and half from outside. Working on this basis, and taking as his guide in matters left doubtful the report of the Rosebery Committee published in 1908, Lord Middleton has calculated that, under existing conditions, the new House would consist of 196 Radicals, 190 Unionists, and 14 non-party peers. This would seem to show that the plan would be really effective in restoring the party balance which has been so completely lost.

So much for the question of reconstitution; there remained the question of powers. Before the House had passed the final Rosebery resolution, Lord Lansdowne invited the Government to submit their Parliament Bill. The request was so entirely reasonable that the Government had to grant it; but, in pursuance of their plan of endeavouring to prevent the Peers from formulating an alternative programme, the arrogant condition was imposed that, while the Bill might be discussed, it must be passed or rejected, and no amendments of any kind would be accepted by the Government. Malignant injustice could hardly be carried further, nor could there be a better illustration of the contempt for their audience in which the present exponents of the will of the people think it safe to indulge. The Bill was introduced, and received a second reading; but, instead of wasting time in a futile discussion at the second-reading stage, Lord Lansdowne submitted, in a series of resolutions which were carried unanimously, an alternative plan for regulating the relations between the two Houses. According to this plan, when a difference arises between the two Houses on an ordinary Bill in two successive sessions, and with an interval of at least a year, it is to be settled by the method of 'a joint sitting composed of members of the two Houses,' though how composed is left undetermined. But, where the difference relates to a matter 'which is of great gravity and has not been adequately submitted to the judgment of the people, it shall not be referred to the joint sitting but shall be submitted to the electors for decision by Referendum.' In a further resolution, the Lords declare that they are prepared to forgo their constitutional right to reject or amend Money Bills which are purely financial in character, provided that effective provision is made against tacking. When a question arises as to whether a Bill is purely financial or not, it is to be referred for decision to a joint committee of both the Houses, with the Speaker of the House of Commons, who is to have a casting vote, sitting in the Chair.

It is probably a safe conjecture that this plan is in close conformity with the policy put forward by the Unionist representatives in the Constitutional Conference. As the situation demanded, it is boldly conceived,



and shows no fear of far-reaching innovation. It bears signs of haste, indeed, and in more than one important point requires elaboration; but on the whole it is statesmanlike and firm enough in outline, and, taken in connexion with the Rosebery resolutions, it sets forth a programme of constitutional reform which gives us what the programme of the Government denies us—an Upper House strong enough to curb the petulance of the predominant Chamber, yet with ample security that the will of the people shall in the last resort prevail.

The surrender by the Lords of their right to reject Money Bills, on condition of guarantees being granted against tacking and of machinery being instituted for the enforcement of the guarantees, is a most reasonable solution of the age-long controversy between the two Houses in this matter of finance; and it is none the less reasonable for involving in a sense a confession by the Lords that in their rejection of the Budget their judgment was at fault.\* The method suggested for deciding what is a Money Bill is an immense improvement on the plan of the Government. It shows some regard for the dignity of the Second Chamber, and gives it an opportunity of arguing its case; and yet, in the event of opinion being evenly divided as between the two Houses, it secures, as is proper, by the Speaker's casting vote, that the House of Commons shall have the final word. The Lords, it may be said, have shown more consideration for the true interests of the House of Commons than the Government itself. If their scheme should be adopted, the Speakership would be freed from the menace of party which, under the guise of an addition

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\* That the Lords had a legal right to reject the Finance Bill was recognised by the Liberal leaders themselves. Speaking in the House of Lords on March 25, 1908, Lord Loreburn said: 'It is a Money Bill, we are told. Well, if a Money Bill is brought forward, this House has always the power to throw it out.' In the debate in the House of Lords on Nov. 29, 1909, Lord Morley said: 'The bare legal right [of rejection] has not been denied. Some, no doubt—and I do not know that I would quarrel with them—would argue that the bare legal right may on certain occasions be appropriately transformed into a moral duty.' It is, then, evident that the surrender of this right is no mere empty formality, but the abandonment of a real though rarely exercised power.



to its duties and privileges, the Government plan involves, and the dignity of the office would be positively enhanced.

The most striking feature of the Lansdowne resolutions is the bold proposal to give to the Referendum a place in the machinery of the British Constitution. As we have already remarked, the Lords' proposals are probably in great degree a reflection of the terms submitted by the Unionist delegates in the Constitutional Conference, and in this sense are the outcome of many months' thought and deliberation by the party leaders. Lord Lansdowne's speeches in the House of Lords during the autumn sittings of Parliament convey the impression of a background of discussion not known to the world, from which he takes his starting-point; and this is especially true of the passages in which the idea of the Referendum is introduced. No one indeed can doubt that there was much discussion in the Conference, and among the Unionist leaders during the Conference, of the Referendum principle; though it is probable enough that the discussion stopped short of the formulation of a plan for bringing it into action and distinguishing the cases in which it is to be employed. The omission has given some point to the Liberal objection that the Referendum is a weapon for the exclusive use of Unionists. In so far as this means that it interposes an obstacle to constitutional change, the criticism really amounts to a positive recommendation; but, to meet the Liberal objection that, as applied by a Second Chamber, the Referendum is an inadequate safeguard against Tory innovations, it may be well to provide that some such minority as one-third of the House of Commons may demand its application to any Bill whatever. This, it is true, would mean a popular veto on the action of a majority of both Houses of Parliament; but it is as a bulwark against rapid change and a protection from party caprice that the Referendum is valuable; and, if we admit the principle at all, it must be applied with complete impartiality.

That, indeed, was the spirit in which Mr Balfour interpreted the Lansdowne resolutions. Much history was crowded into those three eventful weeks between

the meeting of Parliament and the earliest of the polls ; and the swift development of Unionist policy which took place in that period may prove more memorable in its results than the general election itself. Speaking in the Albert Hall on the day after the dissolution, Mr Balfour took up a challenge of the Prime Minister's, and, rising above the mere letter of the Lansdowne resolutions, boldly announced that he had 'not the least objection' to apply to Tariff Reform the new principle of the Referendum. The announcement was received with immense enthusiasm, both by those present in the Hall and by the great majority of intelligent Unionists throughout the country. It was coupled with an answering challenge to the Prime Minister himself to submit Home Rule to a similar ordeal, a challenge which of course was evaded or declined ; but so great was the popularity of Mr Balfour's undertaking, that whatever semblance of condition may at first have attached to it, speedily disappeared, and it assumed the character of a definite and binding pledge.

As Disraeli says somewhere, what wonderful things are events ! For years, constitutional students, Mr Dicey among the foremost, have been preaching to deaf ears the virtues of the Referendum as a remedy for many of our political disorders. In these pages, among others, it has been discussed and recommended again and again.\* But, though the seed freely sown has, no doubt, borne its fruit, little progress seemed to have been made towards enlisting the interest of 'practical' politicians, and still less towards converting the country to the merits of the principle. Two months ago the Referendum still seemed little more than the nostrum of a small number of academic politicians. Even its appearance in the Lansdowne resolutions, great and startling fact as that really was, made a comparatively slight impression on the nation at large. It was Mr Balfour's pledge that first revealed the significance of the new device to the bulk of his followers ; and thus, almost at a stroke, one of the great historic parties was brought to see its value and to enrol it among its principles. To the considerable body of those voters who, with a certain shrinking from

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\* See especially 'Quarterly Review' for April 1910, Art. 10.

Tariff Reform, varying from mere suspicion to positive dislike, combine a very real aversion from the tenets of modern Liberalism, the concession came of course as an especial boon. But even by the Tariff Reformers, or by the great majority with faith enough in their cause to submit it to any trial, or sense enough to realise that Tariff Reform has no chance of victory against the wishes of the nation, Mr Balfour's pledge was welcomed. In common with most thinking men, they saw in it a principle which, if resolutely applied, might, without prejudice to Tariff Reform, prove to be the salvation of the party and the country.

The enthusiasm with which moderate men everywhere in the country hailed the advent of the Popular Veto was due to an instinctive feeling that it opened a way of escape from the tyranny of party. With the stiffening of party discipline into an iron band, which is one of the most notable political developments of the last generation, there has grown up a system which subjects all to the caucus, gags the House of Commons, muzzles the private member, and fosters a spirit of political antinomianism fatal to excellence in both government and legislation. The great prize of party is the control of the Executive; and to the winning of that prize everything else has to be sacrificed. The theory of our Constitution is the complete subordination of the Executive to the Legislature; its practice has now become exactly the opposite—the complete subordination of the legislative function to the exigencies of the struggle for executive power. Over the discussion of every Bill which a Government introduces there is the shadow of the fact that on the fortunes of the Bill the prestige or even the existence of the Government depends. One result is that a member of Parliament, whatever his private views, must support every measure to which his party is committed, or face the consequences of being regarded as a rebel. Another result is a gigantic and organised system of log-rolling, by which a number of separate interests are welded together to keep a Government in power, the reward of each being the support of the whole confederacy for the particular measure which it happens to have at heart. In this way we have Nonconformists voting for Home Rule or a

socialistic Budget, in the hope of thus securing Welsh Disestablishment; and Irish Roman Catholics co-operating with Socialists, and even with Secularists, in the interests of Home Rule.

The evil has been accentuated by the development of the group system, which makes log-rolling bargains both easier and more productive. Behind all the groups and interests sits the party caucus, cynically exploiting them for its own great object, the control of the Executive with the rewards which that implies; and we thus get a Government existing by the will of the House of Commons and the people, and carrying a series of measures no one of which would have a chance of acceptance on its merits either by the House or by the people. From the very nature of the case, a general election provides no remedy; for, in a general election, the control of the Executive is immediately at stake. To that cardinal fact, and to no single measure, the mind of the country is primarily applied. But here comes in the principle of the Popular Veto. In a true reference to the people the issue would be segregated; and the people would decide according to its merits and with very little thought of the consequences of its decision either to the Government itself or to the other interests of the groups on which the Government depended. The result would be, on the one hand, to make a Government pause before taking up a policy in order to buy support, and, on the other, to render the groups less willing to barter their influence for promises which might prove of little value. Thus, in cases where it applied, the Popular Veto would sap the very foundations of the whole system of log-rolling; and this indeed is its crowning merit.

Incidentally we have answered the objection, which is often urged, that the Referendum would diminish the responsibility of the House of Commons. Instead of diminishing it, the probabilities are that its effect would be to increase it. The responsibility of the House of Commons is at present little more than a euphemism for the power of the Cabinet or the caucus; but the knowledge that the electorate was waiting in the background would make Cabinet or caucus less reckless in its decrees, and would restore to the House of Commons some of its old character as a deliberative assembly. Instead of

frowning, as at present, on a friendly critic of its measures, a Government with a Bill to lay before the country would lend attentive ears to all *bona fide* criticisms, in the hope of effecting improvements which might diminish the risk of rejection by the people. Some reality would thus be restored to debate; the private member would gain in freedom and dignity; the House would be emancipated from the worst thralldom of party; and parties themselves would recover some of the breadth and flexibility which they now so sadly lack.

In return for these advantages, no doubt, a certain price has to be paid, and certain risks have to be encountered. The introduction of the Popular Veto into a Constitution such as ours is a very grave experiment, an experiment only justified, and indeed only feasible, under the stress of a great necessity. It is impossible to foresee all the consequences to which it may lead, or how it may ultimately affect the working of a system which has been developed on other principles. It may emancipate us in some degree from the thralldom of party, and it may add to the dignity and efficiency of the House of Commons by liberating it from the excessive domination of the Executive: but how will it affect the position of the Executive itself or harmonise with the doctrine of ministerial responsibility? A Ministry resigns if its measures are defeated in the House of Commons; must it in similar manner resign if its measures are defeated on reference to the people? What may be the ultimate answer to questions such as these we cannot now be sure. It is enough that the new principle satisfies our immediate needs, and provides a cure for disorders that seem otherwise incurable. We must be content to apply it in the English practical spirit, and leave to the future the solution of the problems which may arise in its working.

If we could have continued according to the old plan of an informal reference to the people secured to us when necessary by the intervention of the House of Lords, all might have been well; but events have made that impossible. We need a stronger barrier against the rush of wild democracy than the House of Lords has proved or is likely to prove, with its own unaided resources; and only in the Popular Veto can we find

such a barrier. Democratic ills require democratic remedies; and in the Referendum we have a device which is at once democratic in its spirit and conservative in its action, so conservative indeed that one of the stock objections is founded on a fear that it may make progress impossible. That, however, is a danger which we can afford to ignore; the political need of the hour is not the spur but the bit, not movement but stability. Nor is the idea of the Referendum so alien to the spirit of our modern Constitution or so much of a novelty as at first sight appears; for the doctrine of the supremacy of Parliament has long been qualified in practice by the conception of the 'mandate'; and of that conception the Popular Veto is the logical development. It is also in the true sense its democratic development; and it is only in accordance with the fitness of things and the historic traditions of the two great parties that, while the Liberals are arrayed in defence of the oligarchic rule of the caucus, the Conservatives should thus have opposed to it the principle of trust in the people. Recent events have only placed the party again in accord with its best traditions; and the new policy, if resolutely pursued and fearlessly developed, contains the promise of many future victories.

But it came too late to produce its effect in the recent elections. Confronted with two great policies of constitutional reform, both in a sense revolutionary, though one frankly destructive and the other an honest attempt at a necessary reconstruction, the electorate understood neither one nor the other. There had been no such discussion of either as, in the case of Home Rule, enabled even the masses to grasp the essential factors of a difficult problem. Puzzled and bemused, the electorate returned precisely the same answer as before; or, to be accurate, while the Liberals on balance lost two seats, the Unionists lost one, to the benefit of the minor factions. A good many other seats of course changed hands, but these were only the casualties of the fray. In Lancashire and the West there was very distinct evidence of a movement of opinion to the advantage of the Unionists; but whatever they gained there was lost in London and elsewhere through inferior organisation. Mr Asquith, it must be conceded, did his best to keep the policy of the Parlia-

ment Bill in the forefront. In that sense he may claim that he has received a mandate from the country, but the 'greater emphasis' is conspicuously wanting; and, if Ministers had foreseen what the results would be, they would surely never have gone to the country at all.

In so far as the Government can claim that the Parliament Bill has received the express approval of the nation, their position is somewhat stronger than before. In another sense it is weaker, for the power of dissolution was a great weapon in their hands; and, if Unionist hopes have been disappointed, Unionist apprehensions have also been dispelled. We now know the worst, and the worst is nothing very dreadful. It is true indeed that the Unionists have a majority of 126 against them; and nothing is to be gained by trying to ignore the fact. But it is by no means so sure that the Government have a majority of 126 in their favour. They have certainly nothing of the kind for many of the purposes for which a Government exists; and, even as regards their policy of constitutional change, a composite majority of many disparate elements and many conflicting aims is something very different from the genuine majority of a great and coherent party. The country, they say, has reaffirmed their policy. By sending back to Westminster a Parliament of the same complexion as before, the country has in fact confessed that it feels itself unable to decide between the rival disputants. The policy which it has reaffirmed includes the policy of compromise. By entering into the Conference the Government admitted that compromise was desirable; and, if it was desirable in June, it is not less so now, with a Parliamentary situation precisely the same. To conference and compromise as the final exit from the difficulty the whole situation still surely points.

But for the moment conference and compromise are clearly out of the question. When Parliament meets at the end of the month, the Government, we may presume, will proceed with the least possible delay to pass their Parliament Bill through the House of Commons. What with the debate on the Address, the requirements of Supply, the Budget of 1910 still not completed, and the obvious impolicy of drastic curtailment of debate on



such a measure as the Parliament Bill, it can hardly be expected to pass through all its stages before Easter at the soonest. Meanwhile the discussion must help not a little to educate the country on the issues involved; and meanwhile, moreover, the chapter of political accidents, which always contains its possibilities of surprise, and not least in a situation in some respects precarious, may count for a great deal. But the important question remains—how, in the interval, can the forces of resistance be best organised and disposed? How can the Unionist party be strengthened for its task? What plan of defence is to be adopted by the House of Lords? And what is the objective to which the strategy of the whole campaign ought to be directed?

To begin with the Unionist party, its first and urgent requirement would appear to be a restoration of discipline; and we hope that Mr Balfour, in the pursuit of that object, will not hesitate to assert himself. With a majority of 126 against the party and the Constitution in imminent danger, there has been some most unseemly wrangling about 'first constructive planks' and their relation to the new timber that has just been added to the 'platform.' Surely this is a case of the idle and wicked amusement of fiddling while Rome is burning. The first business of the Unionist party at present, and in all probability for some time to come, is to thwart a revolutionary movement, or to guide it into safer channels; and its first constructive work may even have to be a counter-revolution. The task immediately before it will require all its strength; and it will have to uphold the principles of constitutional reform to which it is now committed. In adopting the National Veto, the party has taken ground which places it in a winning position, and that not only because the veto is popular in itself but still more because it will give to the party a breadth and comprehensiveness truly national. But the first condition of success is steady perseverance in the path on which we have entered. The party has somehow gained a reputation for lack of seriousness; and, if it abandon its new policy, that reputation will be confirmed. The new policy was probably not adopted without long consideration, but its actual emergence bore the appearance of a hasty resolve. That was inevitable under the conditions;

but, if it is abandoned in similar haste, it becomes a mere electioneering dodge.

The new policy must, moreover, be resolutely applied according to the spirit as well as the letter. It says to Home Rulers that their plan must pass on its own merits, not by the votes of those who desire Disestablishment or temperance legislation or a hundred other things with which Home Rule has nothing to do. It speaks in the same tones to Nonconformists of Disestablishment. And the inevitable corollary is that Tariff Reform likewise should pass on its own merits, not by the aid of votes given against Home Rule or socialistic legislation or in favour of a Second Chamber. When Tariff Reform was first mooted, it was vigorously opposed in this Review. Like other Free-trade Unionists, we have accepted, not without misgivings, the policy adopted by an overwhelming majority of the party. In view of the more important issues recently raised, we place unity and strength before insistence on our own opinions. But why any Tariff Reformers should dread the ordeal of a popular vote we fail to understand. The device of the National Veto is not directed against their policy, and cannot seriously delay it if it is as strong as they believe. It may even help it by enabling a Unionist Government to attempt to carry it into practice with a smaller majority than would otherwise be necessary. There is little substance in the argument drawn from the ordinary methods of procedure in the matter of the Budget as to the difficulties that will arise from the delay which a reference to the people would inevitably involve. No large measure of Tariff Reform introducing a change of principle can be carried through as part of an ordinary Budget ; it would have to be submitted in the form of a separate Bill, to come into operation at some subsequent date ; and such a Bill could be referred to the people as easily as any other. But, even if Tariff Reform were embodied in a Budget and submitted to the ordeal of a Referendum, the difficulties thus caused would be no greater than those into which Tariff Reformers cheerfully plunged the country when they induced the House of Lords to refer the Budget of 1909 to the ordeal of a general election.

The domestic difficulty overcome, and discipline re-

stored, the next question is as to the tactics to be adopted by the House of Lords itself in the defence of its position. While the Parliament Bill is passing through its stages in the House of Commons, what, if anything, are the Lords to do? It would hardly seem consistent with the dignity of a Chamber which has a great historic record, and which still retains its position as an independent branch of the Legislature, to sit and humbly wait, while its trial is proceeding, till sentence has been passed. That we cannot believe is the demeanour which will seem appropriate to the statesmen of the Upper House. Rather will they elect to seize the opportunity of developing their own policy—a policy which has received the approval of nearly half the nation, and is the one alternative to the policy of the Government. If this is their choice, they will have before them a task which will require for its accomplishment all the time available, and will tax their statesmanship to the utmost. Carefully and deliberately they must fill in the outlines of the resolutions of last session, enlarging their scope, making good defects, and elaborating details. In the light of recent events, it will probably be wise to extend somewhat further the principles asserted in the Rosebery resolutions, to diminish in some degree the proportion assigned to the hereditary element, and even to face the difficulties, great as they may be, from which the Rosebery Committee shrank, of combining the hereditary and elective principles, by applying the method of election to the element ‘chosen from outside.’ But in these matters it will be well to avoid excessive elaboration, since without the co-operation of the Government and the House of Commons no proposal can amount to more than a provisional suggestion. When they come to the Lansdowne resolutions, they will have to be more explicit as to the arrangements for joint sessions; to attempt a definition of ‘matters of grave importance,’ which should certainly include all constitutional changes; to provide a tribunal for interpreting the definition; and perhaps to elaborate a plan for bringing the Referendum into operation even when there is no conflict between the two Houses. When all this is done, their policy in its full development will be before the country; and by the same time, no doubt, will that of the Government. Then comes the crisis.

What line will the Lords take in their treatment of the Parliament Bill when it comes up from the House of Commons? Not, certainly, the line of contemptuous rejection; or at least so we hope. If they have previously followed the course we have suggested above and have their own policy ready, their wisest plan will probably be to superinduce it on the Government Bill, amending the operative clauses which the Bill already contains in the sense of their own proposals, and changing the preamble, if the preamble reappears, into operative clauses carrying into effect their scheme of reconstruction. Changes in the composition of the House and changes in its powers must go together and must together be considered; and this is the point, as it seems to us, on which above all the Lords should insist. Without knowing the one you cannot with any justice or propriety decide the other. The two things are inseparable; and the Government position here is so weak that they can hardly in the long run succeed in defending it. It was by choosing similar ground in 1884, in the matter of Reform and Redistribution, that the Lords won the first of their more recent successes; and on this occasion the equities are even more in their favour. The contention that the two questions ought to be taken together is so obviously reasonable that it is certain to find much favour in the country, and may even disturb the peace of mind of some members of the Government. It is the greatest tactical opening that the Parliament Bill presents; and it is of primary importance that it should be utilised to the utmost.

The demand that reform should go hand in hand with revision of powers has another great merit, in that it leads direct to a settlement by agreement. A problem so complex and involving so much detail as that of the reconstruction of the House of Lords can only really be solved by the method of Conference; and, when the rival policies have been laid before the country, we believe that another Conference will become a necessity. We shall not follow the example set us by certain journalists of the present day of enquiring too curiously into future events, nor indulge in confident dogmatism as to the issue of the struggle before the armies are in position. Nor, again, shall we touch on matters of prerogative

better left alone, or discuss the question of the 500 peers further than to say that their creation would be an enterprise from which even a Government not specially noted for constitutional scruples might very well shrink. But, looking to the determinate facts of the situation, we are persuaded that a peaceful settlement, as it is the only satisfactory ending to the crisis, is also the most probable. The ardour of the hot-heads on either side has been cooled, and their hopes possibly dashed, by the recent election ; and another general election in the near future is almost unthinkable. The Coronation is near, and will be much nearer before the actual crisis has been reached. Although the extreme factions which have so much influence over the conduct of the Government may be an obstacle to peace, we cannot but believe that on either side there will be a sufficient number of moderates to avert a disastrous collision, and secure a settlement in accordance with the hopes of a great majority of the nation.

Europe is watching us ; and, while this crisis continues, our influence on the Continent must remain at a low ebb. No *entente* can long stand the strain of a situation in which the hands of England are tied. Already the apparently favourable reception given to German advances in Russia points to the possibility of an isolation which we may have bitter cause to regret. With no less eagerness, though from a very different point of view, are our domestic difficulties watched by our own kindred overseas, with whom our example has so much influence for good or for evil. Will the people which has overcome so many greater difficulties in the past, and which has led the modern world in matters of government, fail in the present crisis through lack of statesmanship, and sacrifice to party spirit the ancient polity which has been a model for mankind ?

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#### CORRIGENDUM.

In the list of authorities for the article on 'The Promise of Latin America' (Art. 7 in No. 425 of this Review), the publication of Mr Domville-Fife's work on 'The Great States of South America' was wrongly attributed to Mr Fisher Unwin, instead of to Messrs G. Bell & Sons.

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**LOWEST RATES OF PREMIUM.  
PROMPT AND LIBERAL SETTLEMENT OF LOSSES.**

**ALL CLASSES OF FIRE, BURGLARY, AND ACCIDENT INSURANCE TRANSACTED.**

**Prospectuses and every information can be obtained at the  
Offices and Agencies of the Society.**

**APPLICATIONS FOR AGENCIES INVITED.**



**THE**  
**NATIONAL MUTUAL**  
**Life Assurance Society**  
**(OF LONDON).**

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**Founded 1830.**

**FUNDS, £2,875,000.**

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**DEATH DUTIES.**

Life Assurance provides a most convenient means of meeting the heavy burden of the Estate Duties. Under this Society's policies payment of the duty can be made direct to the Inland Revenue before grant of Probate. A forced realisation of the estate is thus prevented, while Executors avoid the necessity of finding money by mortgage, or out of their own resources.

**PUBLIC SCHOOL,  
UNIVERSITY,**

OR

**Professional Training.**

Absolute Provision by special policy securing a series of annual payments covering the whole period of education.

Premiums cease at parent's death, but all benefits are still secured to the child.

If child dies, premiums are returned.

No Medical Examination.

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**ALL PROFITS BELONG TO THE MEMBERS.**

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This old Mutual Society transacts **only those classes of business usually undertaken by a purely Life Assurance Office**, including advances on or the purchase of

**LIFE INTERESTS AND REVERSIONS**

All information on application to **GEOFFREY MARKS, F.I.A.,**  
*Actuary and Manager.*

**39, KING STREET, CHEAPSIDE, LONDON, E.C.**

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